NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CX.

JANUARY, 1841.

ART. I. — 1. *Letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in Compliance with the Resolution of the 9th ultimo, a System of National Defence.* Document No. 206. 26th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives.
2. *Annual Report of the Board of Visitors of the United States Military Academy.* June, 1840.

IN a former article, which reviewed a portion of the War Department documents of the twenty-sixth Congress,* we intended to close our remarks on the *coast defence* with some allusions to Mr. Poinsett's plan of organizing the militia, as exhibited in those documents, developing, as it did, a part of the means with which he proposed to make that defence effective and economical. The article, however, did not appear, until further communications from the same quarter, giving the promised details of this plan, had been sent to Congress, with much other kindred matter; which, presenting the subject in new relations, rendered all remarks, not having that additional matter in view, imperfect and premature in their character. We have now all those documents before us, but we have not placed the title of that which gives the proposed reorganization of the militia among those at the head of this article, because it is probably abandoned at the present time, or in its present shape. The President himself seems now to entertain doubts of its constitutionality.

* See *North American Review*, Vol. LI. pp. 158 *et seq.*

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This is sufficient to decide its fate. We hope, however, that the attempt at some sort of reorganization will be renewed at a more propitious season. Much of Mr. Poinsett's plan was good; that of the classification, order of service, &c.; but the scheme of instructing and disciplining the militia is fallacious. As well might mechanics be taught their craft by a few days' training each year, as militiamen, by the same process, the duties of a soldier. Arm and organize the militia, and leave the rest to emergencies. Actual service does more in a few weeks, than periodical trainings would do in as many years. The amount of improvement is small and insignificant in either case, but it is available in one case, and is lost in an ever-shifting multitude in the other. Discipline did nothing at Bunker's Hill. All was effected by sharp-shooting under cover. It was the same at New Orleans. The faculty of firing well belongs to all our people. And those who expect to make a beneficial use of militia hereafter, must do as has been done heretofore, — place it in situations where this, its best and almost only available qualification, may be developed to advantage. Such situations may be found, or be formed, in all wars. Hence militia should always be a reliance in the defence of a country. It can often be serviceable, even without discipline; and no more should be expected of it, as discipline is unattainable by it. We, of course, here speak of the mass of the militia. Independent companies are an exception, as we shall have occasion to remark in the subsequent pages.

The "Letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in Compliance with the Resolution of the 9th ultimo, a System of National Defence," dated May 12th, 1840, forms a document of extraordinary interest to the nation. The Report embraced by it is the result of deliberations by a Board of Officers, which combined talent and experience, every way suited to a satisfactory fulfilment of the very important duty assigned to it. We have some ground for self-gratulation, that such a board should have regarded those opinions of a former Secretary of War, on the subject of national defence, which called forth from us some animadversions in the article referred to, as deserving its most earnest and careful attention, with a view to counteract their prejudicial influence on the public mind. Could we have anticipated the entrance of such a champion into the lists, our own comparatively feeble

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lance might still have hung upon the wall, as being needless on a side so well furnished with skill and strength. But it will be borne in mind, that nearly four years had elapsed since those celebrated opinions were promulgated, and that, thus far, no effort, commensurate with the emergency, had been made to meet and refute them. It is at last done, however, most triumphantly in this Report of the Board of Officers, — a report that does honor to the service, affording evidence of an amount of science among our military men, and an ability to comprehend all its bearings on modern warfare, that may challenge comparison with these qualities in any other country. If we supposed that the document before us were likely to fall under the notice of the reading public in general, we should deem it supererogation to give such an analysis of its contents as may be compressed within our present limits. But such a diffusion of mere documentary information is not to be expected. Public attention must be sought through a variety of avenues. And we may be allowed to suppose that a periodical work of long standing presents one that reaches far and wide. It is, therefore, with an inward assurance that we are performing a good service, that we so soon again invoke reflecting men to bestow a portion of their thoughts upon the subject of *national defence*, repeating the remark before made, that there is scarcely one that more strongly claims the consideration of the patriot and the statesman, or that so little receives it.

The Board presents in the front rank of its Report the question, whether "the navy is the true defence of the country," as one that had come prejudged and determined from a "high official source," disturbing "the public confidence" in a system, founded on other means, which had long been its chief reliance; but examines it solely with a reference to this branch of our national defence as an *exclusive* trust for our national safety. No doubt is expressed, as none could have been felt, of its eminent fitness to perform its legitimate and customary part in the great duty of defensive and offensive warfare. The brilliancy its achievements have shed over every belligerent era of our history cannot be obscured. But its home is on the deep; and the notion, that it constitutes "our first and best fortification," has no parallel but in the act of the combatant, who spreads his hand on his breast, as a substitute for shield and breastplate, when it

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should be wielding the sword on every side, leaving the *vis inertiæ* of such a duty to "sterner stuff," to less permeable matter. It is demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt in this Report, that any attempt to secure our seaports, in time of war, by a reliance on naval, or floating, defences alone, would, in this country, with its many points of this character, require a naval establishment of an enormous magnitude. Supposing the war to be with Great Britain, and her ports fortified in the usual manner, while our ports depended on naval means for defence; her fleet, which would be unnecessary for home defence, could select its point of attack upon our shore, without giving any hint of her intentions. The present adaptation of steam to ocean navigation places the arrival of a fleet at its destination within the limits of something like certainty. Warning is almost out of the question, and forms no element in the calculation. The attack will be the first admonition to defend. Under such circumstances, what complete, or even common, security would there be, but in such a force at each accessible and important point as would match the invader? It is true, that portions might be left comparatively weak. Achilles would then be pierced in the heel, or wherever most vulnerable. Whether the defence be complete, or only imperfect, the naval establishment required would be immense; for even twice the amount of the enemy's disposable force would be an intolerable burden, while it would prove little better than "looped and windowed raggedness" as a panoply for the maritime frontier.

It has latterly been a common opinion, that the introduction of steam power upon the high seas is likely to modify greatly the features of war, and also, perhaps, the system of fortification. The force of this opinion is most elaborately examined by the Board. We cannot give the details of this examination. It is obvious, however, upon slight reflection, that, when steam batteries are relied upon, the attacking and resisting power act under equal advantages, which are rendered otherwise only by the accident of more or less strength in the number of batteries or weight of metal used by the respective parties. The ability of the resisting or stationary party to make use of batteries, which, while they lose in mobility, gain in solidity, by thickened bulwarks or sides, is rendered nugatory by the use of shells, whose destructiveness is in proportion to that thickness, where the materials, as must

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always be the case with wood, are permeable, and easily riven in pieces. Steam batteries cannot, therefore, be supposed to change the nature of relative force.

The Board concludes this portion of its Report with the following remarks;

"We should not have gone so much at length into a branch of our subject, wherein the conclusions appear to be so obvious and incontrovertible, but for the prevalence of opinions which we consider, not erroneous merely, but highly dangerous, and which, we think, must give way before the exhibition of the truth. We do not anticipate any formidable objections to the positions assumed, nor to the illustrations; but, even should all these, in the form in which we have presented them, be objected to, we may still challenge opposition to the following broad propositions, namely, 1. If the sea-coast is to be defended by naval means exclusively, the defensive force, at each point deemed worthy of protection, must be, at least, equal *in power* to the attacking force; 2. As, from the nature of the case, there can be no reason for expecting an attack on one of these points rather than on another, and no time for transferring our state of preparation from one to another, after an attack has been declared, each of them must have assigned to it the requisite means; and, 3. Consequently, this system demands a power in the defence as many times greater than that in the attack, as there are points to be covered."

Having disposed of this branch of the subject, the Board, "believing that a well-digested system of fortifications will save the country from the danger attending every form of defence by naval means, and the intolerable expense of a full provision of those means," next proceeds "to show that such a system is worthy of all reliance"; adding, that

"There has been but one practice among nations, as to the defence of ports and harbours; and that has been a resort to fortifications. All experience that history teaches is on one side only; it is the opposition of forts, or other works comprehended under the term *fortification*, to attacks by vessels; and, although history affords some instances wherein this defence has not availed, we see that the resort is still the same. No nation omits to cover the exposed points upon her seaboard with fortifications, and to confide in them."

This broad statement is sustained by arguments and illustrations that would seem to leave no doubt behind. Public opinion is easily misled, when experience is not at hand to

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prevent or correct its wanderings. A striking instance, leaning one way, opportunely seized upon, prevails against a long record of opposing facts. We cannot conjecture what instance of this kind led to the conclusion before alluded to, that ships were our "first and best fortification," as nearly all reading, and reflections suggested by it, would appear to tend another way. Some of the more prominent instances of attack and defence furnished by history, where forts and ships were antagonists, are examined by the Board. Each one is exhibited with all its attendant circumstances, so far as they are known; and sufficient is known in each case to prove, that guns on shore are superior to guns afloat. Gibraltar, in 1782, is eminent as an example of the inefficiency of floating batteries; also Algeziras, in 1801, — comprehending ships under that term. In the latter instance, there was a great disparity in favor of the assailing fleet, which, however, could not avert a signal failure, produced mainly by a few guns, well placed and managed, in battery on shore. The attack on Fort Moultrie, during our Revolution, is not forgotten; when vessels, carrying more than two hundred and fifty guns, "were defeated with great loss of life, and injury to the vessels," by thirty guns behind a palmetto rampart. Copenhagen has been supposed to furnish a conspicuous proof of the power of a fleet operating against a strongly defended place. All the circumstances of this memorable event are brought under review by the Board, and it appears that the contest, up to the time when Nelson proposed the parley that concluded it, was between vessels and vessels. The batteries were unable to interfere, either from remoteness or relative position, the Danish fleet being between the most important of them and the enemy, until nearly the last hour of the combat. The struggle was therefore naval exclusively, and the victory was over the floating force. No inference, therefore, as to the relative strength of fortifications and fleets can be drawn from this event. It furnishes no argument either one way or the other.

Lord Exmouth's attack on Algiers, which bears more immediately on the question, is also presented by the Board in all its known details. The fleet of the English and Dutch mounted about one thousand guns, while about three hundred and twenty were on shore, though not more than two hundred of the latter were able to operate in the action. The loss of

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killed and wounded in the combined forces was about nine hundred, notwithstanding the Algerine batteries permitted Lord Exmouth to take his position without firing a gun. Even if better and more promptly served guns on shore had been likely to avert the issue, — a most triumphant one for Lord Exmouth, — the event, under any aspect, shows the far greater power of annoyance in guns on shore, than in guns afloat. No one can doubt for one moment, that, had the guns of the Algerine battery been afloat, they would have been silenced by the assailing fleet with as little effort as loss. Nor can we resist the belief, that, had the two hundred guns on shore been skilfully, opportunely, and perseveringly managed, Lord Exmouth would have failed to dictate terms to the Dey. As it was, it is not certain that those terms might not have been rejected with impunity, as the fleets had taken advantage of a land breeze to haul off to a safe distance from those guns, under which it might have safely awaited the result of negotiations, had they been effectually silenced.

Two or three other comparatively minor affairs are cited, which, however, most clearly prove the "superiority which guns on shore must always, in certain situations, possess over those of shipping." One was, when a martello tower, armed with only one gun, beat off one or two British ships of war, with little injury to itself. Another, where Sir Sidney Smith, with an eighty-gun ship and two frigates, fired successive broadsides at a two-gun battery on Cape Licosa, until his ammunition was nearly expended; when, finding the return fire destructive and unabated, he landed a small party, and compelled, or induced, the commanding officer to capitulate, who had had one of his two guns dismounted for some time; so that, as the British authority, from which the account is taken, states, "an attack of an eighty-gun ship and two frigates had been resisted by a single gun on shore."

The Board, in commenting on these instances, remark;

"Here are two examples; 1. A single heavy gun, mounted on a tower, beat off one or two British ships. 2. A barbette battery, containing two guns, beat off a British eighty-gun ship, supported by two frigates. It would seem that no exception can be taken to either instance, as trials of relative power. There is no complication of circumstances on one side or the other; nothing to confuse or mislead; all is perfectly simple and plain. A small body of artillery, judiciously

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posted on shore, is attacked by armed vessels bearing forty or fifty times as many guns; and the ships, unable to produce any effect of consequence, are beaten off. The cases present no peculiar advantages on the side of the batteries, either as regards position or quality; for both were immediately reduced by a land attack."

The Board states that the representation of both affairs is taken from "British military writers." The victorious party may represent the results as still more to "the disadvantage of the ships."

"The affair of Stonington," — an event of our war of 1812, — is also most properly alluded to by the Board, as showing, not only the gallantry of our "citizen volunteers," but the advantage of guns on shore over those afloat. In this affair, only two eighteen pounders, behind a battery three feet high, repulsed a sloop of war, which sustained considerable loss, without inflicting any.

These small affairs contain volumes of instruction and encouragement. They are too often regarded as chance-issues, which are not likely to occur again, even under similar circumstances. But the truth is, that such trials are always likely to end as those ended. The shore guns have an immense superiority over guns afloat. An extract from the Report of the Board on this subject will enlighten the most ignorant, and convince the most unwilling.

"A ship is everywhere equally vulnerable; and large as is her hull, the men and guns are everywhere concentrated within her; on the other hand, in the properly constructed battery, it is only the gun itself, a small part of the carriage, and now and then a head or an arm above the parapet, that can be hurt; the ratio of the exposed surfaces being not less than fifteen or twenty to one. Next, there is always more or less motion in the water, so that the ship gun, although it may have been pointed accurately at one moment, at the next will be thrown entirely away from the object, even when the motion in the vessel is too small to be otherwise noticed; whereas, in the battery, the gun will be fired just as it is pointed, and the motion of the ship will merely vary to the extent of a few inches, or at most two or three feet, the spot in which the shot is to be received. In the ship there are, besides, many points exposed, that may be called vital points. By losing her rudder, or portions of her rigging or spars, she may become unmanageable, and unable to use her strength; she may receive

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shots under water, and be liable to sink ; she may receive hot shot, and be set on fire, and these damages are in addition to those of having her guns dismounted, and her people killed, by the shot which pierce her sides, and scatter splinters from her timbers ; while the risks of the battery are confined to those mentioned above."

The instruction to be derived from a consideration of the foregoing events is, that an attack by vessels of war upon exposed and nearly undefended parts of the coast, should be fearlessly met by such means of resistance, namely, a few cannon, a few spades, willing hands and stout hearts, as most maritime places afford ; and the encouragement may justly be entertained, that the attack, if confined to the water, (and detachments are seldom made from the crew, to land in populous districts,) will generally be repulsed.

But the most modern and startling instance of trial between these antagonist forces, that is, between guns afloat and guns ashore, is that of the castle of St. Juan d'Ulloa ; which affair, having been marked by (as it is generally supposed) the unaccustomed use of horizontal, hollow, or Paixhan's shells, (all the same,) and an unexpected result, was for some time thought to have revolutionized the mode of coast attack and defence. The fall of this celebrated strong-hold, after such a brief cannonade, could be accounted for only by supposing that there had been introduced into the attack a new means of destruction, having a power against which no calculations had been made. The Board has subjected this interesting and not very well understood event to a strict scrutiny, and analyzed all its circumstances, until we are satisfied, that its true and just bearing upon the future is ascertained and fixed. Admiral Baudin had a naval force, including two bomb-ketches, which mounted one hundred and eighty-eight guns, or ninety-four on a broadside ; and the castle had twelve twenty-four pounders and four sea-mortars engaged. The action lasted six hours, when, two magazines having exploded in the castle, and there being a well-grounded apprehension that "six other similar magazines" would also explode, (for there were all these deposits of powder or ammunition in the castle, which were not bomb-proof,) the Mexicans capitulated. The French fired over eight thousand shot at the castle, but produced no effect in preparing the way for a sword-in-hand assault, which was contemplated the following

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morning. That great quantity of missiles no doubt marred and indented the walls to a considerable extent, but (as the Board not too strongly remarks) "might have been fired the other way," so far as they contributed to effect a breach, — the only way in which such a preparation could hope to be made by such means.

This castle, as we have before remarked, had been somewhat celebrated, during the revolutionary struggles of Mexico, for its strength. It was supposed that no ordinary means could subdue it. The result of this attack does not prove, that, had its interior been protected from explosions in the ordinary manner, its character in this respect was undeserved. The usual and indispensable precaution of giving all powder deposits bomb-proof roofs was here most unaccountably neglected. The mail-clad warrior was in the battle without his helmet. Had Admiral Baudin advanced his bomb-ketches alone, they might have produced, it is not improbable, unaided, all the causes, that is, the explosions within the castle ("one of which is reported to have buried sixty men in its ruins"), which led to the capitulation. An observance of this simple precaution, — a precaution we are inclined to believe not neglected with respect to any other magazines of consequence on the North American coast, — might, and no doubt would, have reversed the decision of this memorable trial.

The Board has not dwelt too long or minutely on this event. Inferences were likely to be drawn from it, which might have unsettled firmly and justly established opinions, and warranted the introduction of innovations of a dangerous character. The doubts of the day, admitted without due reflection, were gathering strength from an instance, that appeared to prove that fortifications were about to become powerless before fleets, particularly when aided by the Paixhan shells, which were generally thought to have mainly contributed to the reduction of St. Juan d'Ulloa. This redoubtable shell, which had wrought with such tremendous and unanticipated energy in the work of destruction, has been exhibited by the Board in its true light, which divests it of much of its terrors. We cannot, in justice to the subject, attempt to condense this portion of its Report, which says;

"We fully believe, that the free use of these shells will have an influence of some importance on the relative force of ship

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and battery ; but that influence must be the very reverse of what has been predicted. How are the batteries to be affected by them ? It can be but in two ways ; first, the ship gun having been pointed so as to strike a vital part, — that is to say, a gun or carriage, — the shell may explode at the instant of contact. This explosion may possibly happen thus opportunely, but it would happen against all chances ; and, if happening, would probably do no more than add a few men to the list of killed and wounded. For reasons that will soon appear, it is to be doubted whether the probability of dismounting the gun would be so great as if the missile were a solid thirty-two-pound shot. Secondly, if it be not by dismounting the guns, or killing the garrison, the effects anticipated from these missiles must result from the injury they do the battery itself. Now we are perfectly informed, by military experience, as to the effect of these shells upon forts and batteries ; for the shells are not new, although the guns may be so, — the eight-inch and the ten-inch shells having always been supplied in abundance to every siege train, and being perfectly understood, both as to their effects and the mode of using them.

" Were it a thing easily done, the blowing away of the parapets of a work (a very desirable result to the attacking party) would be a common incident in the attacks on fortifications ; but the history of attacks by land or water affords no such instance ; the only practicable way yet discovered of demolishing a fortification, being by attaching a miner to the foot of the wall ; or by dint of solid shot and heavy charges fired unremittingly, during a long succession of hours, upon the same part of the wall, in order not only to break through it, but to break through it in such a manner, that the weight and pressure of the incumbent mass may throw large portions of the wall prostrate. This, the shortest and best way of breaching a wall, requires, in the first place, perfect accuracy of direction ; because the same number of shots, that, being distributed over the expanse of a wall, would merely peel off the face, would, if concentrated in a single deep cut, cause the wall to fall ; and it requires, moreover, great power of penetration in the missile, — the charge of a breaching-gun being, for that reason, one third greater than the common service charges. Now the requisite precision of firing for this effect is wholly unattainable in vessels, whether the shot be solid or hollow ; and, if it were attainable, hollow shot would be entirely useless for the purpose, because *every one of them would break in pieces against the wall*, even when fired with a charge much less than the common service charge. This is no newly discovered fact ;

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it is neither new nor doubtful. Every hollow shot thrown against a wall of a fort or battery, if fired with the velocity affording any penetration, will unquestionably be broken into fragments by the shock.

"After so much has been said about the effect of these shells upon the castle of St. Juan d'Ulloa, it was deemed advisable, although the results of European experiments were perfectly known, to repeat, in our own service, some trials touching this point. A target was therefore constructed, having one third part of the length formed of granite, one third of bricks, and the remaining third of freestone. This was fired at by a Paixhan gun, and by a thirty-two pounder, from the distance of half a mile, and the anticipated results were obtained, namely; 1st, whether it was the granite, the brick, or the freestone, that was struck, the solid thirty-two-pounder shot penetrated much deeper into the wall, and did much more damage, than the eight-inch hollow shot; and, 2dly, these last broke against the wall in every instance that the charge of the gun was sufficient to give them any penetration.

"From all this it appears incontrovertibly, that, as regards the effects to be produced upon batteries by shells, solid shot are decidedly preferable to hollow shot; and the ship, that, contemplating the destruction of batteries, should change her long twenty-four or thirty-two pounder guns for Paixhan guns, would certainly weaken her armament." . . . . . "The use of these hollow missiles by batteries against vessels, is, however, an affair of a different character. The shells do not break against timber; but, penetrating the bulwarks, they, in the first place, would do greater damage than solid shot, by making a larger hole, and dispersing more splinters; and having, as shot, effected all this injury, they would then augment it, many fold, by exploding."

The Report further adds on this subject, (we regret that our limits forbid us to continue to quote,) that these shells will generally, in close actions, pass through one side and explode at the other side of the vessel; that, if they were permitted, by the thinness of the bulwarks, to pass through and through, the damage would be much diminished; and hence, it suggests, that the use of these shells may "lead to a reduction in the thickness" of these bulwarks; concluding with these remarks;

"The facts of history, and the practice of warlike nations, are in perfect accordance with the conclusions of theory. The results that reason anticipated have occurred again and

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again. And as long as, on one side, batteries are formed of earth and stone, and, on the other, ships are liable to be swallowed up by the element on which they float, or to be deprived of the means by which they move ; so long as they can be penetrated by solid shot, set on fire or blown up by hot shot, or torn to pieces by shells, the same results must inevitably be repeated at each succeeding trial."

We are persuaded that few readers, who are led to look into this article, will deem the space allotted to this portion of our subject too extended. It is highly important that just views, in this respect, should be open to the public generally. Common studies are unavailing for this purpose. It is only by deviating occasionally into strictly professional grounds, that the truth can be seen. With those who aspire to the standing of legislators, this truth is indispensable, and it is necessary to all who would comprehend the course of events, and their influence on the customs of war and the destinies of nations.

Having satisfactorily demonstrated that naval means are ineffectual as a sole or principal reliance for coast defence, the Board next considers the value of the usual mode of effecting this object, that is, by fortifications. We do not intend to dwell on this part of the Report ; not that we regard the considerations we have already bestowed upon it in a prior article as superseding the necessity of further amplification. We regret, that, when that article was written, we had not the advantage of the reasons advanced in the Report in favor of this well-tried and approved mode of giving security to a maritime frontier. As the subject now stands, however, we feel no distrust as to the opinion that will generally be formed respecting the preference of this mode over all others. Empiricism should have no sway in a matter involving such incalculable interests. The mistake of one era would be visited, in its consequences, upon the third and fourth generation.

The Report states a fact, which strongly illustrates the propriety of thus securing our commercial cities. The great fire in the city of New York, in 1835, is said to have consumed property to more than the value of $ 17,000,000. This was the work of a few hours, and might be repeated at almost any moment by the stroke of an enemy, who found no fortifications, or adequate naval force, to oppose his progress ;

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augmenting the destruction a thousand fold, if he chose to involve the shipping, and the city generally, in the ruin. It is true, that the laws of civilized warfare forbid all this, except the destruction of the shipping, unless a military occupation of the place, — a most probable occurrence, — were to justify it. But every enemy, having a wealthy place at his control, feels authorized to levy contributions as a price of exemption from such a fatal calamity. The amount of such contributions cannot be calculated, depending, as it does, on the cupidity, generosity, or state of temper at the moment, of the military or naval arbiter in the case; but it is generally measured by the ability to pay, and the value of the boon conceded. What is the cost of the works proposed to cover this great mart of our country? Say about $5,000,000. If it were double, or treble, would it be prudent or expedient to hesitate about the expenditure? Besides, what is the amount of revenue, which is poured into the national coffers by this commercial city? One quarter's receipts would almost case her in a coat of mail; while the neglect of this paramount duty might, by a most probable event of war, deprive the nation, in one year, of an amount that would half encase the whole United States in the same manner.

All other works of defence besides fortifications are liable to constant, extensive, and even total, decay. It is not so with walls constructed of stone, brick, or even earth. There is much about fortifications, we know, that is destructible by time and the elements. They must be preserved, repaired, or renewed, at an ever-recurring expense; still the main expense is only at the outset. Once made, the wall stands by its own strength, and scarcely begins to crumble in the course of an age. Strong places are now standing which have stood for ages; and even the "Indian hill" retains its form for a century, if spared by the plough. The force of these facts is not impaired by the well-known calls that are annually made for appropriations to repair forts, &c. These repairs, though expensive, are trifling compared with the first cost of the works. Nor is this continual expense an objection to them. As well might we cease to build houses, because the expense does not terminate with the erection.

In concluding its "views on the general subject of the defences of the coast," the Board very properly dwells for a time on the mode of garrisoning the forts, without resorting

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to such an augmentation of the regular army, as their number and size would seem to demand. The *militia* is recommended as the main reliance. This may at first excite surprise; and indeed the proposition, without explanation, would be deemed wholly inadmissible. Mr. Poinsett's first plan of organizing and applying this force is not suggested. It is unnecessary to state the reasons which might discountenance such a suggestion. The Board looks to no new and comprehensive change in this vast, unwieldy mass of national strength, — a change that it would require much time to produce, even if the opposition, which has ever thus far stood in its way, were to be withdrawn, — but proposes only to use such force as already exists, is already found organized in most if not all our maritime cities.

It is well observed by the Board, that the militia is very inefficient, or incompetent, only in the field. There, where operations are successful through that discipline and skill which are acquired by long service alone, — such service as no militia ever will be, or can be, or ought to be, subjected to in this country, — an uninstructed, discordant multitude must always anticipate defeat. Such a consequence is as inevitable, as that an awkward and unwary clown, however strong, will be floored by an expert pugilist, however comparatively weak. But there is a description of military force in all our cities, that is far more in advance of the great body of the militia in all the qualities of organization and efficiency, than it is behind the regular army in these qualities. This force is formed by the volunteer companies of those places. The character of these companies is well known to the country. Most of them have aptitude in manœuvring, perform the manual exercise expertly, are animated by an *esprit de corps*, have confidence in their officers, and, to a certain extent, are strictly subordinate to their authority. In all these important respects, they are not only above the militia in general, but are wholly unlike them. Not one of these qualities, as a general rule, belongs to the mass of the citizen soldiers of the country; nor can they ever be imparted to it in any beneficial degree. These volunteer companies form a respectable numerical force along the whole sea-coast, — perhaps already sufficient for the purpose in view, — and, by suitable legislative encouragement, may be increased to any desirable amount. Such encouragement

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should readily be accorded, particularly on the sea-board and on the other frontiers. The idea that has been started in some State legislatures, when incorporations of this kind have been proposed, namely, that they savour of exclusive privileges, and deduct so much from the efficiency of the militia in general, is warranted neither by reason nor by experience. If there be any privilege belonging to these companies, it is that of incurring an extraordinary expense, and bestowing an extraordinary share of time, in order to qualify themselves to serve their country. Leave the materials of which they are composed with the main body, and that body remains the same unorganized and undisciplined mass; take them out, and they form new combinations, and assume new and superior characteristics, — characteristics which for ever remain dormant until this separation takes place. Like certain chemical separations and combinations, the improvement is not in the elements, but in the condition, in the association.

With respect to the duty to be performed, the Board says;

"There is no difficulty in the service of fixed batteries. The militiaman has to be taught merely the service of a single gun, which is very simple. He must learn to use the rammer and the sponge, the handspike and the linstock, to load, to run to battery, to trail, and to fire; these are all. Each of these operations is of the utmost simplicity, depending on individual action, and not on concert; and they may be taught in a short time. There is no manœuvring, no marching, no wheeling. The squad of one gun may be marched to another; but the service is the same. Even the art of pointing a cannon is, to an American militiaman, an art of easy attainment, from the skill all our countrymen acquire in the use of fire-arms.

"The mode of applying this force may be illustrated by the case of any of our cities on the sea-board. The forts and batteries, being put in perfect condition, should be garrisoned, (at least the more important ones,) by a small body of regular artillery, such as our present military force could supply, and sufficient for the preservation of the public property, and to afford indispensable daily guards. To these should be added two or three men of the ordnance department, especially charged with the condition of the armament and ammunition, and two or three engineer soldiers, whose sole duty should be to attend to the condition of the fortifications; keeping every

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part in a state of perfect repair. In certain important works, however, that would be exposed to siege, or to analogous operations, it would be prudent, especially in the beginning of a war, to keep up a more considerable body of regular troops."

The Board makes further suggestions, as, that this "volunteer force should be divided into detachments, without disturbing the company organization," and "assigned to the several works, according to the war garrisons of each, from four to six men, according to circumstances, being allowed to each gun."

We have not space to give even a condensed view of all parts of this most important plan of garrisoning, in time of war, our forts and batteries, without resorting to a burdensome augmentation of the regular army, and without relying upon any new mode of organizing the militia; merely depending upon means already, or readily, made fit for application to such a purpose, in every city that looks to such works for defence. This force is termed a *volunteer* force, because it is not anticipated that it will hesitate to come forward in time of need. A state of war throws the business of all maritime cities, more or less, into embarrassment, and greatly diminishes the demand it has upon the time of those who carry it on. Hence, their inhabitants can send out a quota for garrison service, at such times, without the usual inconvenience. But even if sacrifices were to be made, who will be found more ready to make them, than the members of the volunteer companies, which generally embrace, not only the sinew and much of the talent of the place, but those persons who have a large stake to defend, in "family, property, and social and civil relations"? Besides, they will be within reach of the resources of home.

Let us, by way of illustration, suppose that the city of New York were prepared, as she partly now is, and, we trust, in a few years will wholly be, for a state of war, and that she were fitted for its emergencies by having her many forts and batteries garrisoned after the manner proposed by the Board; that is, with a body of regular troops, combined with volunteer companies, drawn from the immediate neighbourhood; the volunteers, in such combination, being susceptible of fulfilling every required duty in a very short time, and leaving their homes and occupations with little comparative detriment to the latter. And what was the aspect of the same

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place in 1814, when threatened by invasion? Her defences were few and imperfect; and, in default of ramparts of stone and brick, she believed she had no alternative but to heap up masses of men, which she did, until a wall of flesh and blood appeared to surround her. It is true, through the active use of the spade and mattock, lines of circumvallation were hastily thrown up in front of this living wall; which, however, could have stayed a disciplined and persevering enemy, probably, only a few hours. More than twenty-five thousand men were at one time, and for a considerable time, on duty on and around the island of Manhattan. Whole counties were drained of their population, all "occupations" being "gone" but that of war; farms were neglected, trades suspended, shops nearly all closed up; a wide-spread and distressing sacrifice was made for the security of the great mart of that region. No reluctance was manifested by those who felt the most severely the burden of this sacrifice. Every thing was apparently at stake, and still more intolerable burdens might have awaited any dereliction of duty. But such a state of things need not recur. With proper fortifications, New York could mainly defend herself. Her own population, aided by a suitable body of regular troops, — a small body compared with the garrison complement, — all being under the command of an army officer, (for such an officer would at all times be in command,) would effect this great object, with probably no calls upon the interior for support. Under such circumstances, war would be like a cutaneous disease, distressing the surface, but leaving nearly all within untroubled.

These brief statements and reflections must impress every man of common prudence with a sense of the bounden duty of government to avert, by timely preparations, the recurrence of such a state of things; a duty applicable to every portion of the United States. They show, also, that a system of fortifications, manned in the way proposed, would be an economy of men and money to an amount, that no calculation can ascertain. The cost of fortifications is of a definite character; great though it be, yet it has its bounds; while the cost of such a defence as the war of 1812 actually brought upon many portions, and might have brought upon every portion, of the maritime frontier, is illimitable, both as to life and treasure.

The Board concludes its able Report with the following

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summary. We extract it entire, because it is pregnant with facts which every statesman and patriot should have ready at his command.

"The works which are likely to be erected on the Atlantic, within a reasonable time, and which are regarded as necessary to a good system of defence, will require war garrisons amounting to 28,720 men; and they will require a further expenditure of $9,176,767. Works called for in like manner upon the Gulf of Mexico coast, will need 4,420 men to garrison them, and a further expenditure of $516,780. Of the whole coast, therefore, the garrisons will amount to 33,140 men, and the expenditures to $9,993,547.

"The remaining works comprised in tables F, of both statements, will require 30,695 men, and cost $19,521,824.

"Making the grand total for the whole sea-coast of the United States, in garrisons for the works, 63,835 men, and in cost, $29,515,371.

"In addition to these statements as to the fortifications, there are corresponding statements of the cost of the ordnance, of the carriages, and of a certain supply of powder and shot, or shells, for each piece, — one statement relating to the Atlantic coast, and the other to the Gulf of Mexico coast. From these it appears, that for the works likely to be erected on the Atlantic coast, within a reasonable time, (that is to say, for the works comprised in the first five tables, A, B, C, D, and E,) there will be needed 2,483 pieces of ordnance, and 4,511 carriages, which will cost $2,252,290.

"For similar works on the Gulf of Mexico coast, there will be needed 296 pieces of ordnance, and 495 carriages, at a cost of $240,720.

"The remaining works named in tables F, of both statements, will require, in addition, 5,447 guns, and 5,554 carriages, which will cost $3,735,330.

"Making the grand total required for the whole sea-coast, 8,226 guns, and 10,560 carriages, at a cost of $6,228,340.

"The time required to construct and put in order the whole system must depend on the amount of the annual appropriation. All that need now be said on the subject is, that in an undertaking necessarily involving so much time, and of such vital importance, there should be no relaxation of diligence. With all diligence, many years must necessarily be consumed. But the work may be too much hurried, as well as too much delayed. There is a rate of progress at which it will be executed in the best manner, and at the minimum cost. If more hurried, it will be defective in quality, and more costly if delayed.

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"France was at least fifty years in completing her maritime and interior defences.

"In the report presented by the Engineer Department, in March, 1836, (Senate Document, 1st Session, 24th Congress, Vol. 4, No. 293,) there is a demonstration of the actual economy that will result from an efficient system of sea-coast defence; which is to the following effect, referring to the document itself for details.

"There is first supposed to be an expedition of 20,000 men at Bermuda, or Halifax, ready to fall upon the coast. This will make it necessary, if there be no fortifications, to have ready a force, at least equal, at each of the following points, namely, 1st, Portsmouth and navy-yard; 2d, Boston and navy-yard; 3d, Narraganset roads; 4th, New York and navy-yard; 5th, Philadelphia and navy-yard; 6th, Baltimore; 7th, Norfolk and navy-yard; 8th, Charleston, S. C.; 9th, Savannah; and 10th, New Orleans; to say nothing of other important places.

"At each of these places, except the last, 10,000 men drawn from the interior and kept under pay, will suffice; the vicinity being relied on to supply the remainder. At New Orleans, 17,000 men must be drawn from a distance. In a campaign of six months, the whole force will cost at least $26,750,000.

"The garrisons necessary to be kept under pay for the fortifications in these places will cost for the same time $8,430,500. The difference ($18,319,500) will then be only $3,448,156 less than the whole expense of building these defences, viz., $21,767,656. Whence it follows, that the expense of these erections would be nearly compensated by the saving they would cause in a single campaign."

The same document, on parts of which we have thus far been commenting, contains a memorial from Major General E. P. Gaines, of the United States Army, which has attracted some attention, by the exalted military source whence it comes, and the extreme novelty of its general character. In the latter respect, it somewhat resembles the plan proposed by the War Department in 1836. Both propositions depart widely, — almost at a tangent, — from the experience and practice of previous times. This may not be a decisive objection, but it suggests the propriety of much consideration, and naturally leads to doubt and hesitation. The art of war has occasionally been subjected to great changes, but only when the means of carrying it on have been greatly changed.

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The invention of gunpowder, and the introduction of fire-arms into use, produced one of these revolutions, — the principal one. But, for the last century and more, the course of military improvement has been gradual and accumulative. One step has been added to another, generally in the same onward line. All Europe has relied upon fortifications for coast defence, and no one, at least of note, until the idea occurred recently in this country, suggested a substitute. These aberrations do not find favor with the thinking part of civilized nations. It is ever regarded as safe, and as safest, to conform to well-tried customs, to be led by approved experience. Neither involves much risk or uncertainty, while all is committed to hazard by abrupt deviations into novelties.

Probably the sober calculations made by the Topographical Bureau, to which this memorial was referred, in order that its propositions might be subjected to some test, will satisfy the public mind, that they are uncertain in all respects, except the expense they involve, which cannot fall short of an enormous amount. It is well stated by the Topographical Bureau, that any plan of running rail-roads from a common centre to the periphery of the United States, which is not based on actual surveys, more or less approximating to the truth, is too undefined to be entertained, excepting as a suggestion. Calculations, resting on grounds so liable to variation, would be shadowy in the extreme, and become the merest hypotheses.

Besides, there are strong objections to the plan, even if it were practicable. One of the heavy items of expense in war is transportation; and a system that supposes the country, in seasons of danger, convulsed to the inmost interior, by a centrifugal rush, would swell this item to a startling magnitude. The true rule is, first to draw from supplies at hand, seeking the more remote only as necessity demands. Such a rule permits most of the interior to remain quietly engaged in its occupations, thus keeping in vigor many of the principal resources of war, and confining the heaviest sacrifices to a comparatively small portion of the body politic. These seasons of danger are in this way deprived of half their power to do harm.

All are aware that facilities of communication enter largely into the sum of military power, of national defence. Good roads, canals, and, above all, rail-roads, augment the capa-

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bility of troops to defend a country many fold. One thousand men at the present day, in nearly any populous part of the United States, may safely be pronounced equal to many thousands in 1812. Our army can now be moved, with all its appointments, from one end of the Union to the other, and also from east to west, in time for most of the purposes of a sudden campaign. But these facilities are seldom part of the military system. They are the creations, the avenues, formed by the enterprise and wealth of States, corporations, or individuals, and follow the lead of trade, or pleasure, or the promise of interest. Accommodating the military demands of the country, in war as well as in peace, is a mere incident, a subsidiary benefit. No government, excepting a despotism, undertakes to construct roads, or canals, for military purposes merely, excepting in extreme cases. Such works are the result of causes which are expected to remunerate the cost. They, however, fulfil all military purposes nearly, or quite, as well as if constructed for those purposes alone. Trade and commerce instinctively seek the best routes. They shorten distances, remove obstacles, and in all respects facilitate transportation. With such facilities opening through the country in every direction, connecting its most remote parts together ; with our noble estuaries and rivers, courting navigation up to the very mountains of the interior, where the bellowing steam of boats, starting from opposite borders of the country, almost echo to each other ; with communications so easy, rapid, and economical, government need seek no other means of this kind for its great work of defence ; certainly would not be justified in substituting for them a gigantic system of internal improvement, that has rejected, or not regarded, commercial considerations, but looks to geographical features alone, as if mountains, valleys, rivers, and other topographical features, formed scarcely an element in the calculation.

We have named at the head of this article, besides the "Document" which has suggested the foregoing remarks, the "Annual Report of the Board of Visitors of the United States Military Academy, for the year 1840 ;" not, however, for the purpose of turning attention to the Report of the majority of the Board, (embracing fifteen out of nineteen of its members,) which is, as usual, highly commendatory of that institution, but to endeavour to meet some objections set

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forth by the minority, which, "differing from the majority," felt called upon to submit "a separate Report." This minority Report is written with calmness and some liberality of spirit, and, coming from men who have been selected for the express purpose of forming and publishing opinions relative to the Academy, deserves a careful and respectful consideration. If the objections urged be well founded, they should prevail; if otherwise, their want of basis should be made manifest.

We would first notice the very brief and modest doubt of the Alabama member, (who otherwise concurs with the majority Report,) as to the constitutionality of the establishment. On this subject it may be summarily stated, that Congress, in the exercise of its legislative power "to raise and support armies," and "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces," has enacted that a number of cadets may be appointed as a part of the army, "at no time to exceed two hundred and fifty." It will undoubtedly be admitted, that these cadets, on receiving their warrants, could be arranged, as is the case in many services, in the companies, as a grade intermediate between those of the commissioned and the non-commissioned officers of the army; that they could there be instructed in such way as might be thought best fitted to qualify them for the duties of the commission for which they are candidates; and that the expense of this instruction could be provided for by Congress after the usual manner. This being admitted, (and we do not see how it can be gainsaid,) we will suppose that it may be thought advisable to collect the cadets of a regiment into a body for better improvement, thus to remain until entitled to a commission. This could be done either by enactment or by regulation. And the propriety of it is obvious upon slight consideration. Ten, or even twenty, cadets may be taught by the same instructors, as well as two. Economy, therefore, dictates that they should be embodied for this purpose. Besides, the instruction then becomes uniform, — an important gain.

The same power, which authorizes the embodying, for the purpose of instruction, of the cadets of a regiment, applies to those of a whole army. Congress, in 1812, deemed it expedient to direct, that the cadets then authorized to be raised or appointed, "may be attached, at the discretion of the

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President of the United States, as students to the Military Academy," (before that time a school for the cadets of the engineers alone,) "and be subject to the established regulations thereof," &c. This course was taken by Congress to promote both improvement and economy, it being certain that the whole corps of cadets could be improved more highly and more economically, thus concentrated, than if separated among the companies, or even among the regiments. Attached at once to companies, these companies having only the ordinary means of instruction attached to them, the advancement of the cadet in science and the arts would probably be little or nothing. Embodied regimentally, the chances for advancement in these respects would be increased, provided the proper means were furnished, though subjected to liability to constant interruption by the vicissitudes of station and condition incident to such a body of troops. To constitute them a Military Academy, where all would be subjected to an uninterrupted and uniform course of instruction, was deemed the wisest measure. And probably no member of Congress, in authorizing these several steps to be taken, so obviously prudent and beneficial, for the advancement of the army in science, in practical arts, in habits of subordination, and in moral strength, saw any constitutional impediment in the way. And we are inclined to think, that those who now imagine they see them, have not duly considered the origin, progress, and design, of the institution.

The first objection of the minority Report is merely inferable from the manner in which the fact is stated, that "the officers of the army, with but few exceptions," have been selected, since the close of the "last war," "from the graduates of West Point." This "exclusive right," as the Report terms it, would seem to be so well founded, that we should hesitate to suppose the minority gentlemen regarded it as objectionable, if it were not remarked by them, that the graduates have occasionally made the departure from it "a subject of serious objection and complaint." That a graduate of West Point, who "receives a regular degree," (we are quoting the law of Congress, applicable to the case,) "from the Academical Staff, after going through all the classes," should consider himself as certain of being "among the candidates for a commission in any corps, according to the duties he may be judged competent to per-

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form," is both natural and to be expected ; and if others, say citizens, who have not been thus graduated, not thus been qualified, were to supersede them, "objection and complaint" would be looked for from others besides the cadets, — from the public, who have provided for the education of those who are to fill up the army. It is not only proper that the government should thus fill it up, but it is its bounden duty to do so;— a duty as clear and imperative as that which refers to any other military promotion. This "exclusive right" is not, therefore, arrogated to themselves by the cadets ; it is secured to them by law and by custom, and by every consideration of the public good. As to the appointment of citizens to fill up vacancies which remain open at the end of the academic year, after the graduates are disposed of, we shall have occasion to speak shortly. The minority Report does not appear to allude to this exception from the general rule.

The Report next states the annual expense of the institution, and then asks, whether the benefits resulting from it have been commensurate. To prove that they have not, a further statement is made, showing the number of cadets who enter and who are graduated. That so many who enter are *not* graduated, is attributed, in the Report, rather to the "unsuitable character of the materials," than to the bad management of the "Academic Staff." Most persons, in comparing the matriculations with the graduations, would draw inferences highly favorable to the institution. It bespeaks a severity of ordeal, that equally bespeaks a high character in those who pass through it. We should bear in mind that the Military Academy differs in one essential respect from all other seminaries, academies, or colleges in our country. At all other institutions of this kind, the tuition is paid for by the student, and, as long as he submits to the rulers and the rules set over him, he takes his degree as a matter of course. There is no reason for expelling him for negligence or incapacity, except it be extreme. Cadets at West Point, however, enter upon a very different footing. Instead of paying, they are under pay ; and, unless they strictly fulfil their part, maintain a strict conformity with the course prescribed, both as to studies and conduct, they are dismissed. This is both just and proper. It is not intended to educate, at the public expense, any but those whose application and subordination

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afford a reasonable promise that that expense will be remunerated in the form of beneficial services. To retain in the Academy any who fail in these respects, would be a palpable violation of duty on the part of its government.

The minority Report, regarding this decrease of numbers as the result of the "bad materials" of which the classes are first formed, suggests a new mode of selecting these materials. Before noticing this mode, it is proper to remark, on the subject of appointments to the Military Academy, that the mode of making them underwent many modifications before it took the present form. Previously to 1816–17, there was no competition for these appointments. The Secretary of War was rarely asked to make them, and most, if not nearly all, of them were the result of recommendations of the Superintendent, or of the officers of the army. Subsequently to that period, when the institution assumed a new character, and exhibited a standard of education, in many high branches of science, that attracted attention and respect from the country at large, the Secretary of War began to have demands upon him from all quarters. The task of deciding which application should succeed, and which fail, was both difficult and invidious. The applications greatly exceeding the number of appointments to be made, it became obviously necessary to adopt some general rule, which could be observed with justice to the public, and without injury to the Academy. The qualifications for admission were determined to be so low as to exclude none who had been within the reach of a common school. Such moderate requirements were found to open the door to ample talent, while it gave no preference to wealth or superior education. Every portion of the country, it was justly thought, should be entitled to its share of chances, and, the number of cadets being almost in proportion to the congressional delegation, it was decided to apportion the appointments accordingly. Such a distribution was recommended by every consideration of fairness, and opposed by no sound reason, as, after all the refinements that may be made upon the subject, every appointment is an experiment.

The next step was, to ascertain who should receive the apppointments thus due, or open, to so many and widespread portions of the United States. No President, no Secretary of War, could possess the knowledge requisite to

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make a judicious choice among the candidates. Should the rule prevail, of "first come, first served," an impatient and jealous scramble would be likely to ensue. Looking at the whole ground, how natural and rational it was, to turn to the members of Congress, who were at the seat of government, and who knew well the persons and wishes of their respective districts, and to leave to them the recommendation of such candidates as belonged to their districts. This course has now been pursued for some years, and it has filled the Military Academy with young men, who have annually been graduated with honor to themselves, and benefit to their country. That it admits of favoritism, or selections made from partial, local, and even political feelings, is conceded; but when a rule can be proposed which *excludes* all feelings of this kind, which leads to an unerring, or even less erring, choice of "materials," — a choice that would silence all cavil, all objection, — then there will be just cause for change or modification.

In the change recommended by the minority Report, namely, that of leaving this selection to be made by "volunteer companies of the States and Territories," we see only a vagueness of suggestion, that presents scarcely a shadowy outline to the mind. In the first place, volunteer companies are the mere creatures of accident. They are not necessarily in existence anywhere, and might be found nowhere; though they happen to form a most important part of the coast defence, and we hope will be nourished into a more extended and certain existence. But, give them the best character of which they are susceptible, still we do not perceive that they would be the proper depositories of this power of providing candidates for commissions in the regular army. Let it once be determined, that these companies are to furnish the only passports to West Point, and the scramble will be for admission into *them*. And how is this initiation, involving such a desirable privilege, to be determined? And after the company has been formed, consistently with the common right of any member of the community to compose a part of it, how shall the fine gold be separated from the baser metal? The minority gentlemen seemed to apprehend, that "military aptitudes" would show themselves in a way not to be misunderstood, probably recollecting that Achilles, with a sword in his hand, could not be disguised

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even by the drapery of a woman. They seem to believe, that these indications would be so manifest, that selections made under them would avert all abortive probations; would prevent all resignations and dismissions; that all Hannibals taken to this altar, would be able to conquer Rome. But, we fear, notwithstanding all these wise precautions, Cannæ might often become a Zama, or a Capua supersede both.

Many of the remarks of the minority Report on the subject of resignations are just. There cannot be a question, that the graduate is bound in duty to render services as an officer, that shall fully reimburse to the public the expense of his education. The obligation is specific as to four years, and should be enforced, as a general rule; especially if the relaxation produces a necessity of filling up vacancies from civil life, or from persons who have had no previous training for a commission. The inference, however, drawn from the fact stated in this Report, namely, "the resignation of one hundred and seventeen officers" in one year, during the Seminole war, is not altogether fair in its application to West Point, as very many of them were not graduates of that institution; and there were many causes, which it is unnecessary here to enumerate, at that time in active operation, to produce discouragement and disgust *in* the army, and to open attractive prospects *out* of it. The Florida war probably had little influence on most of the resignations. And it should be mentioned, by way of counterbalance of this imputation cast upon the graduates, that, in several instances, the graduating classes have been sent immediately into the field,—though the regulations allow them four months furlough after graduation,—where they have invariably performed their duty with cheerfulness, spirit, and often with much credit; while many older officers, those who had not been bred at West Point, were not present to give them the benefit of either precept or example.

The suggestion made by the Report, relative to a change in the age of admission, we only notice to observe, that we do not see how a minor at eighteen is more able "to assume the responsibilities of a contract to serve his country as a soldier," than at sixteen; unless the minority conceived that a cadet could enlist himself, like a soldier, under the act of Congress of December 10th, 1814. We apprehend,

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however, that the "consent" to be obtained by a cadet has no bearing upon this act.

The last objection of this Report, which we will notice, is made to the present "course of instruction" at West Point. The following extract exhibits the opinion entertained by the minority on this subject.

"Attention to the intellectual manifestations of the cadets, and an adaptation of the course of instruction suitable to a full developement of their aptitudes should be regarded. Instead of attempting to impart a profound knowledge of the exact sciences to all, those only who evince a peculiar fitness for such studies should be trained to the utmost limits of their capacity; while those, in whom the martial spirit predominates, should not, with their opening years, have their ardor quenched by the cold process of mathematical demonstrations, nor the minute investigations of scientific studies."

This is not the first time such a suggestion has been made, many having believed, that a change, suited to a greater variety of intellects or dispositions, should be made. It is well known, that other countries have similar institutions, where cadets, or *élèves*, are trained up to different arms of service. This distribution may work beneficially when the institutions branch accordingly. But such is not the case with ours. We have but one military academy. Those, who propose this change of studies, should, at the same time, propose additional institutions, having distinct courses of instruction for engineering, artillery, horsemanship, &c. The minority Report, however, appears to contemplate only one distinction, that is, a separation of the scientific student from the martial aspirant; the Vaubans from the Turennes. It is not worth while to inquire whether this be practicable, nor whether phrenology might not aid in this work of discrimination.

At West Point, it is well known, there is no designation of *arm* in the outset, nor at any intermediate time of the course. The way is open to all, and a generous competition animates whole classes, who find that the highest honors are within reach of intelligent industry and good conduct. That the amount of talent developed, the amount of acquisition made, by the whole class, is far greater under this order of studies, than would result from any other, cannot be questioned. And who is to judge as to the "peculiar

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fitness" for the more elevated studies, and as to the "martial spirit," that should not be "quenched by the cold process of mathematical demonstrations," or by "the exact sciences"? Little, we apprehend, needs be said, to convince those who are not misled by specious notions, or who are not prone to theorize themselves into fallacious novelties, that the present simple but thorough mode of instruction at the Military Academy, while it forms men for the highest walks of science, at the same time unfits no one for any military function. On the contrary, the purely military instruction at that school is continuous throughout the whole course. It mingles with the exercises of every day. There is a constant accumulation of knowledge, theoretical and practical, from the first position of the soldier up to the most complicated evolution of the battalion, embracing also suitable inquiries into the art of war, as developed in the history of generalship, strategy, &c., which fits the cadet for the field, or the garrison; while those sciences and arts, which have ever been deemed essential elements in the character of an accomplished officer, are implanted in the mind, with more or less promise of ripening into a harvest of usefulness and honor to the country.

It is satisfactory to find that this Report, which evidently embodies every objection that prejudice against the institution could suggest, concludes with a compliment to the "talents and industry" of the professors and teachers there, and a disclaimer of any intention to imply, by the objections made, "censure, or the slightest want of confidence, in any of the academic staff." Such a tribute from such a quarter speaks much in favor of the Academy, which, we predict, as long as it maintains its present standing, will continue to receive free-will support from its many friends, and to extort commendations from its few enemies.

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ART. II. — 1. *A History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain, with a Notice of its Early History in the East, and in all Quarters of the Globe; a Description of the great Mechanical Inventions, which have caused its unexampled Extension in Britain; and a View of the Present State of the Manufacture, and the Condition of the Classes engaged in its several Departments.* By EDWARD BAINES, Jun., Esq. London. H. Fisher, R. Fisher, & P. Jackson. 8vo. pp. 543.

2. *Memoir of Samuel Slater, the Father of American Manufactures; connected with a History of the Rise and Progress of the Cotton Manufacture in England and America; with Remarks on the Moral Influence of Manufactories in the United States.* By GEORGE S. WHITE. Second Edition. Philadelphia. Printed at No. 46 Carpenter Street. 1836. 8vo. pp. 448.

THE first of these works, we suspect, is not widely known in this country, though doubtless familiar to those who are personally interested in the branch of industry of which it so fully treats. To the general reader, perhaps, we shall be doing an acceptable service by introducing it to his notice. The second work, being of home manufacture, is, we suppose, better known. Both volumes contain curious and valuable information. The history of the cotton manufacture, beyond any thing else, illustrates the wonderful progress of invention, and the power of machinery. Within the last half-century it has advanced in a manner unparalleled in any other branch of industry whatever.

A considerable portion of the work of Mr. Baines is taken up in tracing the history of the cotton manufacture back to the earliest sources of information on the subject. But the materials for a history like this are scanty. The clothing of the ancients was mostly of wool and of flax. There are but few sentences in all the Greek and Latin, and not one, it is said, in the Hebrew, writers, that refer to garments made of cotton. The manufacture of cotton appears to have commenced in India. For many ages it was confined to that country. Cotton goods are first named as an article of trade among the Arabs, who, in the first or second century of the Christian era, brought them from

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India to the ports of the Red Sea. The manufacture of them at this time was prosecuted, to a small extent, in Egypt and Persia. The art was carried by the Moors into Spain, where we have evidence of its existence in the tenth century. In the fourteenth century it was introduced into Italy. But throughout the Middle Ages, down even to the time of the revival of arts and letters, all writers, in describing the progress of commerce and the garments of both sexes, make mention of clothing of woollen, linen, and silk, while cotton was not extensively known. It was not until the invention of spinning machinery in England, that cotton goods, of European manufacture, were used as common articles of dress.

It is our intention to do no more than barely allude to the brilliant series of inventions, made during the last age, which have given such an astonishing impulse to the cotton manufacture, and have formed one of the most splendid triumphs of science, in its application to the useful arts. Only eighty years ago, the machines in general use for the manufacture of cotton were nearly as simple as those of India four thousand years before. That the perfection to which this art has been brought by mechanical inventions, has been attained within that brief period of time, seems, at first, an almost incredible statement. We doubt whether, in the whole compass of art, there is another fact which illustrates in so striking a manner the progress of modern improvement. The ancient method of spinning was by the distaff and spindle. The apparatus for weaving was the Indian loom, — an instrument used to this day in the East, where it is seen suspended between two tamarind trees, with its slovenly-made treadles, beam, and shuttle, — the rude types of the machines in use among us. As late as the middle of the last century, the only material improvement made in these arts was that of exchanging the distaff for the one-thread spinning-wheel, and of constructing the loom with greater firmness and compactness. The loom itself, however, was essentially the same as the ancient instrument of India.

The first improvement in these arts, of which Mr. Baines gives a detailed account, was the invention of the *fly-shuttle*. This was made in 1738. By this invention, the shuttle, which was formerly thrown with the hand, — a slow and laborious process, and, in weaving the widest cloth, requiring

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the aid of two persons, — was made to play back and forth in the lathe, in which it runs simply by a sudden jerk upon a handle of wood, connected by two strings with each end of the lathe. A simple contrivance this, but it effected a great saving of labor and time ; and so much did it facilitate the process of weaving, as to occasion a demand for yarn which soon led to another step in the series of inventions. This was the machine for spinning yarn by *rollers*. Mr. Baines, contrary to the general opinion, which ascribes this invention to Sir Richard Arkwright, claims the honor of it for John Wyatt, of Birmingham, who, as he goes on to show, secured letters-patent for it thirty years before Arkwright. It is no part of our purpose to enter into this controversy, or to express any opinion as to its merits. It is certain, that this invention did not come into general notice until 1769, when Arkwright publicly claimed it as his own. By this invention, the one-thread spinning-wheel, which we well remember to have seen in our boyhood in many a rural cottage, was superseded. The cotton was passed through two sets of rollers, the second of which revolved with four or five times the velocity of the first. In this way the cotton was *drawn out*, after which it was caught by a spindle and fly, which, revolving rapidly, *twisted* it into a thread and wound it on a bobbin. These rollers and spindles could be multiplied to any number, so that many threads could be spun at once, and all with wonderful expedition and precision.

Something was now needed, to facilitate the process of *preparing* the cotton for the spinning frame. This had been hitherto done by hand cards. But the process was tediously slow. The application of rotary motion in carding accomplished the desired result. It would be uninteresting to detail the various hints and suggestions, offered by various individuals, which contributed to the perfection of the carding machine. It is sufficient for our purpose to notice the fact, that, in 1775, Sir Richard Arkwright secured a patent for this valuable and beautiful invention. "At one end of the machine," says our author, "the cotton was put in, an entangled and knotty mass, the fibres lying in every direction, at the other end it came out an even and delicate film, with the fibres straightened, and that film immediately com-

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pressed into a uniform and continuous sliver, ready for the spinner." (p. 179.)

The next desideratum was, to invent a weaving-mill, as it was apprehended that hands could not be found to weave all the cotton that would be carded and spun. In 1787, the Rev. Dr. Edmund Cartwright took out a patent for a *power-loom*. It was not, however, until the beginning of the present century, that this machine received its present perfection, and came into general use.

Thus have we glanced at the most important steps in the inventions, which, almost within the last half-century, have revolutionized the manufacture of cotton, and proved most fruitful sources of individual and national wealth.

"When this admirable series of machines was made known, and by their means yarns were produced far superior in quality to any before spun in England, as well as lower in price, a mighty impulse was communicated to the cotton manufacture. Weavers could now obtain an unlimited quantity of yarn at a reasonable price; manufacturers could use warps of cotton, which were much cheaper than the linen warps formerly used. Cotton fabrics could be sold lower than had ever before been known. The demand for them consequently increased. The shuttle flew with fresh energy, and the weavers earned immoderately high prices." — Baines, p. 183.

"The factory system of England takes its rise from this period. Hitherto the cotton manufacture had been carried on almost entirely in the houses of the workmen; the hand or stock cards, the spinning-wheel, and the loom, required no larger apartment than that of a cottage. . . . . But the water frame, the carding engine, and the other machines which Arkwright brought out in a finished state, required both more space than could be found in a cottage, and more power than could be applied by the human arm. Their weight also rendered it necessary to place them in strong built mills, and they could not be advantageously turned by any power then known but that of water." — *Ibid.*, p. 184.

"Such, without entering too much into minutiæ, are the processes by which the vegetable wool is converted into a woven fabric of great beauty and delicacy; and it will be perceived, that the operations are numerous, and every one of them is performed by machinery, without the help of human hands, except merely in transferring the material from one machine to another. It is by iron fingers, teeth, and wheels, moving with exhaustless energy and devouring speed, that the

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cotton is opened, cleaned, spread, carded, drawn, roved, spun, wound, warped, dressed, and woven. The various machines are proportioned to each other in regard to their capability of work, and they are so placed in the mill as to allow the material to be carried from stage to stage with the least possible loss of time. All are moving at once, — the operations chasing each other; and all derive their motion from the mighty engine, which, firmly seated in the lower part of the building, and constantly fed with water and fuel, toils through the day with the strength of perhaps a hundred horses. Men, in the mean while, have only to attend on this wonderful series of mechanism, to supply it with work, to oil its joints, and to check its slight and infrequent irregularities; — each workman performing, or rather superintending, as much work as could have been done by *two or three hundred men* sixty years ago. At the approach of darkness, the building is illuminated by jets of flame, whose brilliance mimics the light of day, — the produce of an invisible vapor, generated on the spot. When it is remembered, that all these inventions have been made within the last seventy years, it must be acknowledged, that the cotton mill presents the most striking example of the dominion obtained by human science over the powers of nature, of which modern times can boast." — *Ibid.*, pp. 243, 244.

The effect of these inventions in extending the use of cotton goods, and upon the commerce of the world, will appear from a few statements, for which we are indebted, in part, to the book of Mr. Baines. The importations of cotton into the United Kingdom during the first half of the last century, averaged about 2,050,000 pounds per annum. The importation since 1820, is, on an average, not far from 300,000,000 pounds per annum. In fact, more cotton is imported now in one year into the United Kingdom, than was imported during the whole first three quarters of the last century. The official value of British cotton goods, of all sorts, exported from 1700 to 1764, was not £50,000 per annum. In 1833, the real or declared value of cotton manufactures exported was £18,486,400. The recent exportation of a single year is of greater value than the exportation of the whole of the eighteenth century. The annual value of the whole cotton manufacture for 1833, our author estimates at £31,338,693. The capital employed in the manufacture, he puts down at £34,000,000. The number of persons supported by the manufacture, he computes at 1,500,000.

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"It may assist to form a conception of the immense extent of the British cotton manufacture, when it is stated, that the yarn spun in this country in a year would, in a single thread, pass round the globe's circumference 203,775 times; it would reach 51 times from the earth to the sun; and it would encircle the Earth's orbit *eight and a half* times!

"The wrought fabrics of cotton exported in one year would form a girdle for the Globe, passing *eleven* times round the Equator!

"This manufacture furnishes nearly one half of the exports of British produce and manufactures; it supports more than one eleventh part of the population of Great Britain; and it supplies almost every nation of the world with some portion of its clothing.

"None of the kingdoms of Hanover, Wirtemberg, or Saxony, has a population exceeding that engaged in the manufacture of cotton in this island.

"The receipts of our manufacturers and merchants, for this one production of the national industry, are equal to two thirds of the whole public revenue of the kingdom.

"To complete the wonder, this manufacture is the creation of the genius of a few humble mechanics; it has sprung up from insignificance to its present magnitude within little more than half a century; and it is still advancing with a rapidity of increase, that defies all calculation of what it shall be in future ages." — *Ibid.*, pp. 431, 432.

What a miracle of art and industry is here presented to the view! Our thinkers and scientific inventors are, after all, our true sovereigns. A hundred Georges, and Williams, and Victorias, — we crave her Majesty's pardon for saying it, — cannot do for Great Britain and the world, what these few humble mechanics have done. How many, with high-sounding titles, and with almost all power in their hands, have passed through life without performing one act of any service to mankind; while probably there is not a man, woman, or child, in the whole civilized world, that is not better clothed and better fed, by the labors of such men as Arkwright and Watt.

We must not forget, however, that this wonderful extension of the cotton manufacture has not been wholly unattended with evil. The factory system of Great Britain has been a subject of loud and general complaint. If it does so much to clothe the world, it enslaves and degrades, it has been affirmed, the million and a half of human beings that

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are dependent on that system for support. The actual physical and moral condition of the operatives, in the factories of England, is an important subject of inquiry. But it is a subject on which it is extremely difficult for us to form a just opinion. The most contradictory statements have been put forth. By some the factory system is represented as overtasking the strength and corrupting the morals of the operatives, as destroying their health, reducing them to a state of the most abject dependence, and hurrying thousands into untimely graves. By others, the truth of all these statements is denied, and factory labor is pronounced to be no more unhealthy, and no more corrupting, than the labor of the same class of operatives in other branches of industry. Moreover, the evidence on this whole subject, which has been from time to time published by Parliament, is equally unsatisfactory. While the report of a committee of the House of Commons represents the factory system of England as being a most horrible system of slavery, that of the Factory Inspectors gives, as positively, an opposite view of the subject; and in such a conflict of testimony, given under such evident biasses of prejudice and interest, we hardly know what statements are worthy of reliance. We propose to express briefly the best opinion we have been able to form, and to state such facts as, from various quarters, we have gleaned.

We have no doubt, then, that there is evil, great and pressing evil, in the factory system of England. In the bringing of large numbers of the lowest and most ignorant laborers together; in the excessive toil to which children, especially, have been forced, while breathing the impure air and the cotton dust of imperfectly ventilated factories; in the absence of means of intellectual and religious instruction; and in that helpless dependence to which they are of necessity reduced, who are unfit for all other kinds of work but that to which from their childhood they are confined, so that they must submit to whatever exactions the cupidity of their taskmasters may impose; — in all these facts, it requires no great sagacity to see causes, which must inevitably operate to corrupt, degrade, and enslave. No doubt, they have heretofore worked to this end with terrible effect. No doubt, also, there are some of them still working together for evil. But it is equally clear, that the condition of the

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English operatives has, within the last few years, greatly improved; and we must not suffer our impressions of what English factories have been, to prevent our seeing what English factories have become.

It was a great step, in improving the condition of the manufacturing operatives in England, to limit their work, as was done by the act of 1833, to sixty-nine hours per week; viz. twelve hours on the first five working days in the week, and nine on Saturday. This is a less number of hours than factory operatives in New England generally work, and, considering that factory labor, for the most part, is not hard, it secures the operative against excessive toil. Great attention has been paid of late to the ventilation* of factories. They are made larger and more airy. Pains are taken to confine the cotton dust, and to displace corrupt air, so that operatives are now far less exposed to these sources of disease. And, as to means of moral and intellectual instruction,

* "Our legislators, when bewailing, not long ago, the fate of their fellow creatures doomed to breathe the polluted air of a factory, were little aware how superior the system of ventilation adopted in many cotton mills was to that employed for their own comfort, in either house of Parliament. The engineers of Manchester do not, like those of the metropolis, trust for a sufficient supply of fresh air into any crowded hall, to currents physically created in the atmosphere by the difference of temperature excited by chimney draughts; because they know them to be ineffectual to remove, with requisite rapidity, the dense carbonic acid gas generated by many hundred powerful lungs. The factory plan is, to extract the foul air, in measurable volumes, by mechanical means of the simplest but most unfailing kind, especially by eccentric pans, made to revolve with the rapidity of nearly one hundred feet per second; and thereby to ensure a constant renewal of the atmosphere in any range of apartments, however large or closely pent they may be. The effect of one of Fairbairn & Lillie's four-guinea pans, upon a large factory, is truly admirable; it not only sweetens the interior space immediately, but renders the ingress of odorous nuisance from without altogether impossible. In a weaving mill near Manchester, where the ventilation was bad, being dependent on currrents of equilibration, as in the House of Lords, the proprietor lately caused the pan apparatus to be mounted. The consequence soon became apparent in a curious manner. The work-people, little remarkable for olfactory refinement, instead of thanking their master for his humane attention to their comfort and health, made a formal complaint to him, that the ventilator had increased their appetites, and therefore entitled them to a corresponding increase of wages! The weekly pay of these attendants on steam-going looms, being nearly double of that received by laborers on the breezy plains of Sussex and Kent, could admit of no augmentation under the low rate of profits of trade. But the master made an ingenious compromise with his servants; by stopping the fan during half of the day, he adjusted the ventilation and the voracity of his establishment to a medium standard, after which he heard no more complaint, either on the score of health or appetite." — Dr. Ure's *Philosophy of Manufactures*, pp. 380, 381.

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Sunday schools, and associations for mental improvement, have been introduced into the manufacturing villages and cities of England with remarkable success. We believe, that by no class of English laborers have these institutions been more generally welcomed; nowhere have they awakened a more earnest spirit of improvement, or yielded more gratifying results.

We have no object to gain by defending the English factory system. But when we have heard so much said about the ignorance and degradation of the manufacturing operatives of England, we have asked, Does this charge rest any less lightly on any other class of English day-laborers? It would be difficult to prove, we apprehend, that the condition of the working class in the factories is in any degree below that of the same class of laborers in other occupations. One thing we suppose to be certain, that the manufacturing operatives have a greater command of the necessaries and comforts of life. By the report of the factory commissioners, the fact is incontestably established, that no large class of day-laborers in England receives better wages, than the operatives in the factory. As to the unhealthiness of their occupation, we must remember, that the question is not, whether it is of the most healthy and agreeable kind, but whether, on the whole, it is not as healthy as many other necessary branches of industry. "There is no trade," as Mr. Baines well suggests, "which might not be injurious to persons subject to one kind of weakness or another." "A physician might, if so disposed, get up a case against any employment of civilized life, sufficient to excite public sympathy and abhorrence; but so long as men cannot live without working, they must work in spite of inconvenience." And as to the effect of factory labor, we see no reason to dissent from the opinion of our author, who says, that

"It is much less arduous than that of the smith, less prejudicial to the lungs, the spine, and the limbs, than that of the shoemaker and the tailor. Colliers, miners, forgemen, cutlers, machine-makers, masons, bakers, corn-millers, painters, plumbers, letter-press printers, potters, and many other classes of artisans and laborers, have employments, which, in one way or another, are more inimical to health and longevity than the labor of cotton mills. Some classes of professional men, students, clerks in counting-houses, shop-keepers, milliners, &c.,

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are subject to as great, and in many cases to much greater, confinement and exhaustion, than the mill operatives." — *Ibid.*, p. 454.

Indeed, there are some important circumstances attending the labor of factory operatives that are favorable to health. Among these may be named, the great regularity of their habits of exercise, sleeping, and eating, the uniform temperature of the air in which they work, the consequent diminished liability to disease from sudden changes of atmosphere, and the comparative lightness of their labor. All the hard work is done by the power that carries the machinery. The labor of the factory hand is confined to superintending the operations of the machine, and in keeping that constantly employed.

Still we know that the common impression is, that factory labor is exceedingly unhealthy. The existence of this impression has directed inquiry to the subject. Many facts and statistics have been collected. Our readers may not be unwilling to look a little further into this matter.

When the Factory Commissioners, before referred to, entered upon their duty, they sent a series of questions to the most experienced medical men in the chief manufacturing towns of England. From twenty-seven physicians they obtained written replies. Some of them are distinguished members of their profession. Their practice is among men of all occupations in life, which circumstance gives them a favorable opportunity for judging of the effect of different employments upon health. Some of them are superintendents of hospitals and infirmaries, where careful inquiries are made of patients into their previous business and habits of life. Their testimony is important. We propose to give our readers a few of the questions submitted to them, and to append thereto the abstract of the replies, which is given by Mr. Baines.

"'*Is the mortality among factory children greater than in other classes?*' To this question, nineteen of the medical witnesses reply in the negative; two speak with hesitation, but fear the mortality is greater; one only answers distinctly in the affirmative; five can give no opinion. Several of the witnesses consider the mortality among the factory, to be less than among other children. Dr. Shaw, physician to the Salford Dispensary, says; 'I think I might go further, and say

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that the mortality among factory children is less than amongst other working classes. Factory labor is better remunerated than any other kind of labor, consequently the children generally are better fed and lodged; they are less exposed to the vicissitudes of climate; greater attention is paid to their comfort, at least in the silk and cotton factories of Manchester, many of which I have frequently inspected.' Mr. Holland, who has for forty years professionally attended the apprenticed children at Messrs. Gregs' factory at Styall, in Cheshire, says, that 'in the last twenty-two years, with an average of ninety children, there have been only seventeen deaths, of which three died from accidental causes, wholly unconnected with their work;' thus reducing the deaths to fourteen, or about one in one hundred and forty, which could, by any possibility, be attributed to causes connected with factory labor. Nothing can be more satisfactory than the replies to the above question."

"'*Are there any diseases or accidents to which factory children are particularly subject?*' Eight witnesses reply in the negative, as to diseases; most of them state that children are liable to accidents from machinery, though not severe, and much less frequent now than formerly, owing to the general casing of the machinery. Several are of opinion, that children are subject to swelled ankles, from long standing, and in some instances to distortion of the knee-joint; and that a scrofulous or consumptive tendency is increased by this occupation."

"'*Are the children of factory operatives inferior in stature to those of your other classes, and to those of the inhabitants of the rural districts in your neighbourhood?*' The general tenor of the replies to this question is, that the children are less robust, and of somewhat lower stature, than children brought up in rural districts, but not inferior to those living in towns and differently employed."

"'*Are the factory operatives more or less attentive to cleanliness and ventilation in their dwellings, than other persons of similar means?*' Eighteen of the medical men answer, that they are equally or more attentive to cleanliness than other operatives; four, that they are less so. Dr. Charles Henry, of Manchester, remarks; 'There is decidedly more comfort and cleanliness among those who work in the factories, than among that class who work in their own dwellings. I regard the factory operatives, as a body, as decidedly superior in their command of the comforts of life, and even of luxuries, to any part of our population.' Dr. Jarrold, on the other hand, says; 'Women bred in factories can have no domestic habits, and

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and are consequently inattentive to cleanliness. They make wretched wives.' "

Thus, among these practitioners, there was, as might have been expected, some diversity of opinion. Still, there is nothing here to justify the common impression, as to the great unhealthiness of factory labor. Nor is there any thing more said, in any of these returns, against this kind of work, than might be said against almost any other occupation in which the same class of laborers are employed.

The Factory Commissioners obtained a report of an inquiry, made by a committee of the master-spinners, into the state of the work-people in the principal mills in Manchester. The operative spinners themselves furnished answers to a series of questions sent to each mill, "which answers were collected, and the results drawn out, by a gentleman not engaged in manufactures, John Shuttleworth, Esq., Distributor of Stamps, who swore to the accuracy of his deductions."* The tables which this gentleman prepared, are interesting and important. We have space, however, only for the summary of them, which we give in the words of Mr. Baines.

"From these tables it appears, that eight hundred and thirty-seven spinners had worked in mills not less than twenty-two years and three fourths each, on the average; that seventy-four per cent. of them stated themselves to have good health, twenty and one half per cent pretty good health, and only five and one half per cent. indifferent health; that of their wives ninety-six and one fourth per cent. were living, and only three and three fourths per cent. dead; that the average number of years they had been married was eleven and one fourth, and their average number of children in that time four and one half. The number of children distorted was only one in two hundred and fourteen."—*Ibid.*, p. 474.

We will only add, on this part of our subject, that the returns of the amount of sickness in the cotton mills of England, obtained by the Factory Commissioners, were submitted to Dr. Mitchell, of London, who compared them with the results of similar inquiries made among workmen in other occupations. The facts thus deduced, he presents in

* Baines, p. 473.

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a tabular form, and then expresses the following opinion on the whole;

"Taking all in all, from the documents brought before me I have seen no grounds for warranting me in believing, that factory labor in any material degree differs, in its effects on health, from other labor; and at all events, the results ascertained from this long and laborious investigation appear to me to afford unanswerable evidence, that the laudatory and condemnatory exaggerations of both parties are alike unfounded in truth." — *Ibid.*, p. 466.

The returns, above alluded to, establish another fact of great importance on this point, which we find stated in the work of Dr. Ure on the "Philosophy of Manufactures." We present it in his own words.

"One of the most valuable accounts of general sickness among the poorer classes, is that contained in Mr. Finlaison's Report on Life Annuities, printed in 1829. It does not go below the age of twenty, and yet it shows, that seven days in the year is the average duration of sickness among the laboring classes in London, between the ages of twenty and thirty-five, implying, probably, such sickness as would entitle the invalid to receive sick pay from a benefit society. From the returns of the cotton mills it appears, that this amount exceeds very far any degree of sickness known in them, even during the fickle period of childhood. Out of three hundred and seventy-six persons employed in Messrs. Greenwood and Whittaker's cotton mill, the average time lost by sickness is only one third of a day per annum." — Ure, p. 398.

We should have been glad to see something more on a subject, which our author very briefly dismisses. We refer to the morals of the factory operatives of England. The common impression doubtless is, that great immorality prevails among them; and that where so many young people of both sexes are brought together, free from the oversight of their parents, and exposed to all the low and corrupting influences that are supposed to throng around a factory establishment, it is impossible but that a loose state of morals should exist, and vice to a great degree abound. A factory, it has been supposed, is a nursery of licentiousness and crime. Mr. Baines does not pretend to say, that there have not been factories which have corresponded to this description; he admits, also, that a great deal, not difficult to do, is yet to be

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done, to elevate the moral condition of the operatives. But he undertakes to show, that a great improvement has already taken place in their character, and hints at one or two principles, which it is of importance, in forming an opinion on this subject, to bear in mind. One of these is, that the character of the operatives in any establishment depends upon the character of the master-manufacturer. By watchfulness and care, by wise and judicious rules, faithfully enforced, he may elevate the moral tone and character of all in his employ, and preserve as high a standard of morals as is to be found anywhere. Another principle is, that all experience has shown, that it is for the *interest* of the master-manufacturer to do this. Here is a great point. It would not require much experience, one would think, to demonstrate to any overseer the difference, in the order, comfort, and productiveness of his establishment, between a moral an immoral set of hands.

"The neglect of moral discipline," says Ure, "may be readily detected, in any establishment, by a practised eye, in the disorder of the general system, the irregularities of the individual machines, the waste of time and material from the broken and pieced yarns. . . . . It is, therefore, excessively the *interest* of every mill-owner to organize his moral machinery on equally sound principles with his mechanical, for otherwise he will never command the steady hands, watchful eyes, and prompt coöperation, essential to excellence of product." — *Philosophy of Manufactures*, p. 417.

Of late this is beginning to be understood; and hence the great attention which is now paid to the moral education of the operatives. We see this especially in the noble institution of Sunday schools, which, as we remarked before, is nowhere received with more welcome, or cherished with better results, than among the factory operatives of England. There are some very gratifying facts connected with this subject. We will allude to but one of them, for the account of which we are again indebted to the work of Dr. Ure. The town of Stockport contains sixty-seven factories, in which 21,489 operatives of all ages are employed. In 1805, a large Sunday school was erected by voluntary contribution, chiefly of mill-owners, at a cost of £10,000. In the annual report of this institution, for 1833, the committee state;

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"Since its commencement the names of 40,850 scholars have been inscribed on our registers, a considerable part of whom have received a moral and religious education within our walls. Part of the fruit of these pious labors is already reaped, in a temporal point of view, in the general decorum that pervades this town and neighbourhood, and the regard for the liberties, lives, and properties of others, evinced by the Stockport population at a period of political excitement, in which they were too much disregarded at other places. The well-judged liberality of the public has now made Sunday schools so common in our borders, that it is hardly possible to approach the town of Stockport, in any direction, without encountering one or more of these quiet fortresses, which a wise benevolence has erected against the encroachments of vice and ignorance." — *Philosophy of Manufactures*, p. 410.

"When I visited this school," says Dr. Ure, "there were from four thousand to five thousand young people profiting by the instructions administered by four hundred teachers, distributed into proper classes, and arranged in upwards of forty school rooms, beside the grand hall in the top of the building. I witnessed the very gratifying sight of about fifteen hundred boys, and as many girls, regularly seated upon separate benches, the one set on the right side, the other on the left. They were becomingly attired, decorous in deportment, and of healthy, even blooming, complexions. Their hymn-singing thrilled through the heart like the festival chorus of Westminster. The organ, which was excellent, was well played by a young man, who had lately been a piecer in the spinning-factory of the gentleman who kindly attended me on the occasion." — *Ibid.*, p. 411.

Now this is encouraging; and to such a degree have these institutions actually elevated the character of the operatives, that several clergymen, on examination, certified to the Factory Commissioners, that they considered the morals of factory operatives to be quite as good as those of other work-people. The same opinion was expressed by Dr. Hunter, a celebrated physician of Leeds.

"I do not consider," said he, "the factory population in this town more immoral than the same class out of the mills. I have always found them, male and female, as modest in demeanor as any other class of working people." — *Ibid.*, p. 395.

On the whole, it appears evident, that the factory system of England has done something more than increased im-

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mensely the industry and wealth of the kingdom. It has improved the condition of the poorer class of laborers. They are better clothed, better fed, better paid. The poor rate has diminished, in a series of years, in places where factories have been established. Less has been paid in manufacturing districts for the support of the poor, than has been paid in agricultural districts for the same object; while the spirit of intelligence, the institutions of learning and Sunday schools, which are beginning to distinguish the manufacturing operatives of England, all promise to elevate them much above the day-laborers employed in other branches of industry.

Of the second work named at the head of this article, we shall be able to give only a brief notice. Some facts, however, which it enables us to present, relative to the rise and progress of the cotton manufacture in this country, will interest our readers, and suggest a few remarks upon the condition and character of the factory operatives in New England.

It appears, that the first attempt to erect carding and spinning machinery in this country was made at East Bridgewater, in Massachusetts. This was as early as 1786. The enterprise was regarded with so great an interest, that the General Court, by a resolve passed November 16th, 1786, gave the machinists £200 to encourage their ingenuity. The year following, £20 were given to Mr. Orr, of East Bridgewater, under whose direction a model machine was constructed; and that gentleman was requested, in the resolve, to exhibit his machines, and to give all information in his possession respecting them.

In 1787, the proprietors of the Beverly Cotton Manufactory, in Beverly, Massachusetts, made an attempt to introduce the manufacture of cotton, by machinery, into this country, "in imitation," as they set forth in their petition to the General Court in 1790, "of the most useful and approved stuffs, which are formed of that material in Europe." The object of the petition referred to was to obtain aid from the General Court, "to indemnify them for extraordinary expenses and losses," and to promote the further advancement of their enterprise. The petition was referred to a committee, of which Nathaniel Gorham was chairman, who reported;

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"From the best information we can obtain, we are of opinion, that the said manufactory is of great public utility. But, owing to the great expenses incurred in providing machines, and other incidents usually attending a new business, the said manufactory is upon the decline, and, unless some public assistance can be afforded, is in danger of failing. Your committee therefore report, as their opinion, that the petitioners have a grant of £ 1,000, to be raised in a lottery." — *Memoir of Slater*, p. 55.

The third attempt, in the order of time, to manufacture cotton by machinery, in this country, was made in 1788, at Providence, Rhode Island. Three enterprising citizens of that place entered into an agreement to manufacture what was then called "home-spun cloth." Draughts of the machines at East Bridgewater and at Beverly were procured, and carding and spinning and weaving machines were set up, in the chambers of the market-house at Providence, and were operated there.

Contemporaneously with this, an attempt was made in Philadelphia to manufacture cotton by machinery. This was attended with more success than any of the other experiments. In a report of a committee to the Board of Managers of the "Pennsylvania Society for Promoting Manufactures and the Useful Arts," it is stated, that up to August 23d, 1788, there had been manufactured of jeans, corduroys, cottons, flax-linens, tow-linens, &c., four thousand and sixteen yards.

"But, notwithstanding these laudable and persevering efforts made by the people of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and, soon after, of Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut, they entirely failed, and saw their hopes and prospects prostrate. In looking for the causes of such disasters, we find no deficiency of enterprise or exertion, none of funds, and none of men who were ready and willing to engage in the business, and no lack of patronage from the government, they having learned from experience the privations during the Revolutionary war. All must be attributed to the fact, that, during all the incipient struggles, Great Britain had in operation a series of superior machinery, which Massachusetts and Rhode Island had endeavoured to obtain in vain." — *Memoir of Slater*, pp. 61, 62.

It was at this critical period, that Samuel Slater arrived in this country from England. He had served a regular

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apprenticeship in cotton-spinning, under Jedediah Strutt, a partner of Sir Richard Arkwright; and, tempted by a reward which he had heard had been offered by a Pennsylvania society for a machine to make cotton-rollers, he determined to push his fortune in this country. Bringing out nothing but his indenture of apprenticeship,* he arrived in New York in November, 1789. In January, 1790, he left New York for Providence, where he soon made arrangements, with Messrs. Almy and Brown, to set up the spinning of cotton at Pawtucket. With his own hands he commenced making machinery, working with indefatigable industry, night and day.

"On the 20th of December following, he started, as he says in an account written by himself just before his death, three cards, drawing and roving, and seventy spindles, which were worked by an old fulling-mill water-wheel, in a clothier's building, in which they continued spinning about twenty months; at the expiration of which time they had several thousand pounds of yarn on hand, notwithstanding every exertion was made to weave it up and to sell it. Early in the year 1793, Almy, Brown, and Slater built a small factory in that village, (known and called to this day 'the old factory,') in which they set in motion, July 12th, the *preparation* and seventy-two spindles, and slowly added to that number as the sales of the yarn appeared more promising, which induced the said Slater to be concerned in erecting a new mill, and to increase the machinery in the old mill."— *Ibid.*, p. 42.

The Arkwright inventions were now in successful operation in this country. We should be glad to give some account of the trials and perplexities through which Slater passed, of the gradual extension, by his labors, of the cotton manufacture, and of its final and permanent establishment, not only in the neighbourhood of his first experiments, but throughout the land. But our limits forbid. Through alternate periods of prosperity and great depression, the manufacture has most wonderfully increased. The little State of

* The stories often told of Mr. Slater's bringing out models of machinery, of a remarkable dream suggesting to him to supply a band upon one of the wheels, for want of which his machinery did not operate, and of secret attempts made upon his life by the connivance of the English Government, our author, on the authority of Mr. Slater himself, pronounces to be without foundation.

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Rhode Island is literally dotted over with cotton mills. They are found every few miles on the whole length of the Blackstone river. They give industry and wealth to hundreds of flourishing villages in New England. They have built up large towns and cities, like Waltham, Fall River, Dover, Nashua, Lowell.

A few statistical facts * will give us the best idea of the vast extension of this business in this country, during the present century. In the "Memoir of Slater," it is stated, that in the year 1805, the total consumption of cotton by the manufactories of the United States was a little more than three hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds. The quantity now consumed is estimated at one hundred and fifty million pounds per annum. The value of cotton goods manufactured in the year 1815, is stated to have been twenty-four millions of dollars. The value of the annual manufacture is now estimated at sixty millions. The capital employed in manufacturing by machinery, in 1815, was forty millions of dollars. The capital now employed is estimated at one hundred and ten millions. The value of the exports of cotton goods from the United States, in 1826, is stated to have been one million one hundred thousand dollars. The value of exports in 1834, was two million two hundred thousand dollars. The number of persons at present employed in the manufacture of cotton we shall soon have means of knowing, by the recent census of the United States. We think it cannot be less than one hundred thousand.

What is the physical condition and moral character of this large class of our population? This is a question full of interest to the patriot and the philanthropist. We begin the few remarks we have to offer on this subject by observing, that the New England factory system is very different from that of Old England. The points of difference are important, and yield immense advantages to the New England operatives. In the first place, we have hardly such a thing as a fixed factory population. Four fifths of our factory opera-

* For these facts, we are indebted, when no other authority is named, to a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, dated February 29th, 1836, "On the Cultivation, Manufacture, and Foreign Trade of Cotton"; and to an article on the "Statistics of Cotton," which may be found in Hunt's "Merchants' Magazine," for September, 1839.

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tives are young girls, who, leaving their homes in the country, work on an average from three to four years in the cotton mills, and then return to fill the stations in life of wives and mothers. The other fifth are young men, whose honorable ambition it is to become acquainted with the business of manufacturing, that they may rise to the situations of overseers, clerks, and superintendents. This class is of course more permanent. The other is continually fluctuating. Undoubtedly it is an evil to the manufacturer. He is continually losing experienced operatives, and receiving raw hands. But what he loses here, he more than gains in the better character of those he employs. The factory girl, whose intention it is to return, in a short time, to her native village, must carry back the unsullied reputation with which she left her father's house. Here is one of the strongest motives that can be felt to secure, not only the good morals, but the perfect decorum and propriety of conduct, of the operatives under his care. And it is felt by them all. There is no case of that self-abandonment, which we see in those who feel that they are doomed to be always just what they now are. And more than this, there is no such thing as a large, dependent class of people, hanging around our manufacturing villages, unfit for any thing but factory labor, subject, therefore, to the will of their employers, and in their helplessness and hopelessness growing more abandoned themselves, and tainting the whole neighbourhood with their corruption. This is, beyond all question, the greatest evil of the manufacturing system of England; but a class of operatives like this cannot be found in any factory village of this country.

Another peculiarity of the New England factory system is the plan of corporation boarding-houses. This plan was first tried at Waltham, Massachusetts, and has gradually extended itself throughout New England, excepting in Rhode Island, where, under Slater, the English system was introduced. The boarding-houses are erected by the mill owners, and are let, at reduced rents, to the families that keep them. The advantages are obvious. The whole moral *régime* of these houses is under the sight and control of the master-manufacturer. Their neat, comfortable, and healthy state, the regularity and good order of their management, and the strictly moral conduct of their inmates, he can look

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after, and it is his duty to secure. The deportment of his operatives, both while in the mill and out of it, is thus under his oversight and care. How admirably this system has worked, the good order of all our factory villages, and the healthy moral tone of feeling that prevails in them, abundantly prove.

Still another thing that distinguishes our factory system from that of England is, that we employ but few children. It is stated in the work of Baines, "that more than one third of the mill operatives in England are children, half of whom are under fourteen years of age."* In 1831, according to Pitkin's "Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States," there were 27,936 factory operatives in the New England States. Of these there were but 3,990 under twelve years of age. It is remarkable, that of that number Rhode Island alone had 3,472. This is more than fourteen fifteenths of the whole. It is in Rhode Island, as we remarked above, that the English factory system most prevails. The machinery there used is, for the most part, of a kind with which the labor of children is profitable. But throughout the New England factories generally, children are not wanted. They are "more plague than profit." Thus, of the 8,507 operatives employed in Lowell, there are not 150 under fifteen years of age. And, in respect to these, the law passed in the year 1837 is strictly enforced, which requires that no person, under fifteen years of age, shall be suffered to work more than nine months, in any year, in a factory, the remaining three to be passed at school. Nothing need be added, to show what a great advantage, to our manufacturing population, our factory system has, in this particular also, over that of England.

There is no class of laborers in New England, that is so well paid, clothed, and fed, as our factory operatives. Such care is taken of their health, both in the mills, and in the boarding-houses, that no more sickness of any kind prevails among them, as physicians of the most respectable attainments and character attest, than is found among laborers of the like class in any other employments of life. We know what declamatory assertions have been sometimes made, of the demoralizing effect of our factories, and of the infamy

* Page 380.

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which cleaves to every young woman who has been a factory operative. But we know, also, that the least inquiry, in any well conducted manufacturing establishment in New England, will prove such assertions to be false. A greater slander was probably never proclaimed; not against the female operatives themselves, but against their fathers, their mothers, the guardians of their virtue and their honor. It is in the virtuous homes of our farmers and mechanics, that the young women are reared, who work their three or four years in the factories. That they are sent, year after year, to places where their morals are sure to be corrupted, and where an eternal reproach is fixed upon their names, is a charge against their parents, which the very men who bring it cannot themselves believe. In remarking upon the moral condition of our manufacturing establishments, those who have not carefully inquired into their practical operation overlook one fact, which it is very important should be kept in mind. It is the *interest* of the mill-owners to make the villages, which their establishments create, desirable places to live in. Not only must the accommodations for the operatives be comfortable and healthy, but the moral atmosphere which they breathe must be pure. If it is not, the manufacturer loses his hands. Let those who are continually returning from the factories to their fathers' houses, go back with a ruined reputation, or with a blot upon their fair names, and the only supply of operatives, which the manufacturer has, is cut off. If we had a fixed, dependent factory population, it would be different. Such a class of operatives must work, however unhealthy or however corrupting their labor may be, or they must starve. Free from the curse of such a population, the sure instinct of self-interest secures a high standard of morals in most of the manufacturing villages of New England.

As an illustration of these remarks, we would, in concluding this paper, refer to one of the largest manufacturing places in the country, and one in which the actual working of the New England factory system may be most fully seen. In the city of Lowell, there is a manufacturing capital invested of $10,500,000. There are 32 cotton mills in operation; running 166,044 spindles, and 5,183 looms; consuming 19,256,600 pounds of cotton, and manufacturing 58,263,400 yards of cloth, per annum; employing 6,430 female, and

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2,077 male operatives. This city has grown up entirely within the last twenty years, and now has a population of over twenty thousand. A more orderly and moral city, we believe, can nowhere be found. Indeed, there are some facts pertaining to the character of this city, which are of a remarkable nature. There are in it sixteen organized religious societies, in which, it is ascertained, are enrolled about seven thousand Sunday school pupils and teachers, being one third part of the entire population of the city. The rule, here rigidly enforced by the manufacturers, of employing none who are addicted to the use of ardent spirits, has had the effect to make this city more free from the vice of intemperance, than any other city that can be named. And then, as to the sin of licentiousness, which is supposed to be the peculiar taint of factories, we would refer to the following statement, which we find quoted in the "Memoir of Slater," from Carey's "Essay on Wages." It is taken from an account, furnished five or six years ago, to the late Mr. Carey, by a gentleman of well-known character for integrity and philanthropy, who then had charge of one of the largest establishments in Lowell.

"There have only occurred three instances in which any apparently improper connexion or intimacy had taken place, and in all those cases the parties were married on the discovery, and several months prior to the birth of their children; so that, in a legal point of view, no illegitimate birth has taken place among the females employed in the mills under my direction. Nor have I known of but one case among all the females employed in Lowell, — I have said known, — I should say heard, of one case. I am just informed, that this was a case where the female had been employed but a few days in any mill, and was forthwith rejected from the corporation, and sent to her friends. In point of female chastity, I believe that Lowell is as free from reproach as any place of equal population in the United States, or the world." — *Memoir of Slater*, p. 168.

There are some facts, also, pertaining to the health of this population, which are exceedingly interesting. Bills of mortality have been kept for a considerable number of years, with great accuracy. These have been carefully collated, and from them the following facts have been derived, by a distinguished physician of Lowell, which we present in his own words.

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"More than one half of our population are between the ages of fifteen and thirty years, and a great proportion of these are employed in the mills. In the year 1830, the population stood, by an actual census, at six thousand four hundred and seventy-seven; the number of deaths was one hundred and fourteen, and of this whole number only seven occurred among the persons employed in the mills. In the year 1828, the population, in round numbers, was three thousand five hundred. The number of girls employed in the mills was, also in round numbers, fifteen hundred. During that whole year, there was not a single death, in the city, among these fifteen hundred girls. I ask those who are versed in the lore of medical statistics, to match these two facts. Even if they were picked facts, they would be none the less extraordinary. But they are not picked facts. They are the only ones, and they are all of the kind which are contained in the tables before me. If, now, I am asked whether I consider these results as average results, — as safe *data* on which to rest our conclusions, as to the degree of health enjoyed by our other population, I frankly answer, No. I do not believe, that the other years would have given such results. They are too extraordinary to be looked for. But they are still of very great value. They show positively, absolutely, undeniably, a state of things wholly, irreconcilably, inconsistent with the existence of a feeble, deteriorated, and unhealthy population. I know that in 1828, and probably in 1830, girls, who had been here some time during the year, died during the year elsewhere. I know that, in making all these statements, we are constantly to bear in mind the circumstance, that a certain number of girls leave this city while sick, and die among their kindred. But the number is easily ascertained, and it is far from being large. Means are now in operation, by which the number of girls who leave the mills on account of any ill health, will be accurately ascertained. Until this work is finished, I can only say, that, so far as the investigation has been carried, it corresponds with all the other facts relating to this subject, in showing an average state of health, and freedom from disease, most satisfactory and gratifying.

"It may be objected, that the rate of mortality is not alone and in itself an infallible, or even a safe, standard of the general health; that the actual number of deaths in any given population, during a given year, may be small, while the standard of health is low, and the absolute amount of ill health is great. I admit that this is very possible, and that it sometimes occurs. But it can only be true under peculiar circumstances, and within certain very narrow limits. It cannot be true of a large population, through a series of years. It can

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only form an apparent exception to the general law of relationship between disease and the rates of mortality; and careful observation will always enable us to detect these exceptions, and to make in their favor, or on their account, all necessary allowances.

"The general and comparative good health of the girls employed in the mills here, and their freedom from serious disease, have long been subjects of common remark among our most intelligent and experienced physicians. *The manufacturing population of this city is the healthiest portion of the population,* and there is no reason why this should not be the case. They are but little exposed to many of the strongest and most prolific causes of disease, and very many of the circumstances which surround and act upon them are of the most favorable hygienic character. They are regular in all their habits. They are early up in the morning, and are early in bed at night. Their fare is plain, substantial, and good, and their labor is sufficiently active and sufficiently light to avoid the evils arising from the two extremes of indolence and overexertion. They are but little exposed to the sudden vicissitudes, and to the excessive heats or colds of the seasons, and they are very generally free from anxious and depressing cares." *

The healthy condition and the correct deportment of the Lowell operatives, have been observed by every one, who has seen the long lines of them retiring, at the close of labor, from the mills. All are well dressed, and you behold no more impropriety of conduct, than you see in the most fashionable streets of any city. A distinguished Englishman, on seeing the throngs of operatives leaving the mills, could not but express his surprise, that every one of them had on *shoes*. His wonder would have ceased, had he known that each of these operatives was earning, on an average, two dollars per week, clear of her board; that the sum paid out for wages in Lowell is $160,000 per month; that out of 1,976 depositors in the Lowell Institutions for Savings, 978 are factory girls; and that of the $305,796 deposited on interest, $100,000 belongs to them. His wonder would have ceased, had he been told of the man, who, broken down by unfortunate speculations at the South, removed his wife and family of daughters to Lowell; and there, forgetting their former affluence, and relying hopefully upon their

* *Letters on Lowell and its Population,* Published in the "Lowell Courier," in 1839, by Elisha Bartlett, M. D.

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own exertions, honestly paid off, in a few years, by the fruits of their labor, an old incumbrance of over two thousand dollars, and realized enough beside to give an enviable education to his children. He should have been told, also, of the poor widow, who, running in debt for every cent of the furniture of her boarding-house, paid for it all in a short time, and by eleven years of industry and economy, saved the snug sum of fourteen hundred dollars, with which she purchased a quiet retreat for her old age in the country.

We intended to have said a word or two upon the schools in Lowell, which will not suffer by comparison with any others in the Commonwealth; upon the spirit of intelligence there manifested, in the patronage extended to lyceums, libraries, and lectures; and upon the noble hospital recently established there by the owners of the mills, for the benefit of the operatives in their employ. But we have already exceeded our limits. We can only express the firm conviction, that the manufacturing population of New England, in intelligence, respectability, and good morals, is at this moment decidedly in advance of the same class of laborers in other branches of industry; and we have no doubt but that, by still greater improvements in machinery, by a reduction of the hours of labor, and by a more earnest attention to means of moral and intellectual training, they will lead the general progress in knowledge and in virtue.

ART. III. — *Two Years before the Mast. A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 1840. 24mo. pp. 483.

THIS is, in many respects, a remarkable book. It is a successful attempt to describe a class of men, and a course of life, which, though familiarly spoken of by most people, and considered as within the limits of civilization, will appear to them now almost as just discovered. To find a new subject in so old a sphere of humanity is something; and scarcely second to this are the spirit and skill with which it is handled. It seems as if the writer must have been favored with

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a special gift for his novel enterprise. It is a young sailor's narrative at the end of his only voyage. It is his first attempt as an author, and certainly the last which, considering his previous condition and pursuits, he could ever have dreamed of making. Though it was written from a desire and purpose to enlighten people as to the state and evils of a seafaring life, though it constantly offers matter for serious reflection, and is necessarily occupied, a large part of the time, with very humble materials, yet it is as entertaining as a well-contrived fiction, it is as luminous as poetry, and its interest never flags. Thus it is likely to be a standard work in its particular line, at least till it instructs some other adventurer to surpass it. We think we can see, in the good reception it has had, much more than sudden admiration of a novelty; and in the book itself, much more than the rapid fruit of youthful spirits and fancy. Hard labor is necessary to effect any thing considerable in literature; and probably few works ever cost more, if we may reckon the toils, sacrifices, and temptations of a common sailor, as a part of his preparation for a memorable narrative of sea life.

It is so unpretending in its purpose and tone, that, instead of setting out with commendation and prophecy, it would have been more natural to come at once to what it offers the reader. It may, then, be read with satisfaction by all who are curious to know what the sea really is; what the life of a mariner is in the merchant service; and the daily history of all that is going on in the little craft, or stately ship, which is holding its solitary course for months together, in search of commodities for landsmen. The voyage is not undertaken for discoveries, conquests, or any public object whatever. There is nothing grand or brilliant in the idea of a few officers and men in charge of a peaceful vessel, from port to port; with no further interest in the winds and waters than as they hasten or retard its course; and looking for nothing so eagerly, as to come to anchor and begin landing a cargo, or taking one on board, that they may make for home again. The writer has no liberty to select picturesque situations and aspects, invent interesting personages and incidents, that he may carry his reader into grand adventures of fictitious maritime life. Not that there will ordinarily be any want of facts or characters, to exercise his best talent for narrative and description; but these must come in their

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order, and occupy no more than the place they hold in the series of daily affairs, and in the mind of the writer at the time. Exaggeration or disproportion is, of all things, the most to be shunned. For he is upon a matter of business, of experience; he is to make us see and feel what is passing. Needless repetition may be avoided, but nothing must be fabricated.

These may seem hard conditions, where a man is expected to make an entertaining book. So much the better, if he succeeds. But let us not undervalue realities. All sorts of facts may be so represented as to be dull and unaffecting, for the reason that they are not understood by the story-teller. They are not realities to him, nor yet the occasions of fancy. He tells every thing as if he were counting. His mind has not been active upon his experience; it makes use of nothing, has been called forth by nothing, and has clothed nothing with itself. On the other hand, any course of life may have its exciting history to one differently constituted. As to the work before us, it would perish but for its truth, and the truth might perish but for its vivacity. This is the secret, if there be one, of its attraction. Something, no doubt, is to be attributed to the idea one never wholly loses, of a young man, separated from an easy home and liberal studies, and subjecting himself, as a common sailor, to the hardships of a long voyage, and, as it turned out, of the worst sort, — in the hope that an entire change of employment might do something for removing what seemed an incurable weakness of the eyes. The contrast is not without effect upon the reader. The author, too, has not overlooked it.

"The change from the tight dress-coat, silk cap, and kid gloves of an undergraduate at Cambridge, to the loose duck trowsers, checked shirt, and tarpaulin hat of a sailor, though somewhat of a transformation, was soon made, and I supposed that I should pass very well for a jack-tar. But it is impossible to deceive the practised eye in these matters; and while I supposed myself to be looking as salt as Neptune himself, I was, no doubt, known for a landsman by every one on board as soon as I hove in sight. A sailor has a peculiar cut to his clothes, and a way of wearing them which a green hand can never get. The trowsers, tight round the hips, and thence hanging long and loose round the feet, a superabundance of checked shirt, a low-crowned, well-varnished black hat, worn

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on the back of the head, with half a fathom of black ribbon hanging over the left eye, and a peculiar tie to the black silk neckerchief, with sundry other minutiæ, are signs, the want of which betray the beginner at once. Beside the points in my dress, which were out of the way, doubtless my complexion and hands were enough to distinguish me from the regular *salt*, who, with a sunburnt cheek, wide step, and rolling gait, swings his bronzed and toughened hands athwart-ships, half open, as though just ready to grasp a rope." — pp. 6, 7.

Besides the circumstances of the writer, the novelty, the originality of his subject is, as we have already remarked, a part of its attraction. Most readers have but a vague idea of life at sea, though every one has his dream, as he has about every strange thing that falls to another. A boy, born and bred in a seaport, especially if it be a small one, is for ever upon the wharves, or in a boat, wondering what is going on in some vessel riding at anchor, or just floating out of sight. If he is sent to school in the country, he feels for a time as if imprisoned and stifled; he longs for the free air, the sounds and moving objects, of the ocean. On his return, he greets with delight the scent of salt weeds and tarred rope, and even the fragrance of docks. No sound of pipe or shell can equal that of the waters. A sort of calenture is upon him. He has visions of far distant ships, of strange skies, people, and traffic, and home can bind him no longer. So of landsmen generally, if they think of the sea and of ships as something more than a field for labor or war, something more than to enrich merchants or vindicate national honor, the image of maritime life is accompanied with ideas of poetical inspiration, of religious feeling, of intrepidity and generosity, as growing naturally from a sense of peril and dependence, and the presence of grand or unusual phenomena. By the aid of mystery, which even the little they know, and especially the more they are ignorant of, throws over the adventurers upon the sea, a degree of dignity, or, it may be, of undefined but not painful terror, is attached to the very word, *voyage*. They have heard, too, of a sailor's humor, so characteristic for its composition of stoicism and drollery. Every thing assures them, that his state and influences are peculiar. He is a privileged person. He has dared what they tremble merely to hear of. He has a right to despise people who live all the time ashore. — Fan-

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cies like these possess landsmen in full force, when they read the narratives of discoverers and great admirals, or the reports of wrecked sailors, and above all, when a man of genius, who has himself known the sea, invents a story of a ship's fortunes.

It is not disputed, that much truth is obtained by the inexperienced from sources like these. The imagination probably forms many adequate conceptions. It is no discredit to other sea-stories to say, that this has points in which it differs from them. We have here not only a real voyage, but, what we never had before, the whole history of a long trading voyage, told by a sailor, who was able to compare his early visions of the sea with the facts as he found them; who went out to work, not to speculate or describe; who gave himself up to the service as devotedly, as he would do and bear all things in any other line of duty; who was resolved to enter heartily into his new mode of life, to see all its fair sides, and make the best of its annoyances; and whose narrative is the simple expression of his experience and prudent observation, — a narrative of things as they happened, of impressions as they were made, of convictions as they grew and settled upon his mind during a pretty patient trial of a wholly new line of life. Such is the view that will be taken of the writer and his book, by those who know nothing of the sea, and those who know every thing. The truth speaks out everywhere. We should say, that it was all over with dreaming now, except in some few incurable cases. But it would be juster to say, that we have surrendered our false fancies, and with full compensation, so much more animating and productive is the truth, as here set forth, than our former guesses.

The author has evidently made use of a copious journal, or drawn upon a very faithful memory; for the succession of things is in perfect order of time, and, if any part of the voyage is omitted, we are not aware of it from the want of minute details. Still, there is very little appearance of the mechanical keeping of a journal. Notes of the ship's place, of winds, of bells more or less, come in as they are needed; that is, as they will make a statement more distinct, by placing us near to what is going on. But it is the well sustained spirit of a strictly personal narrative, which animates and defines every thing. The presence of the writer, his interest

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in affairs, his hopes, anxieties, and vexations, his natural reflections, his temper of mind, his character, are perceived and felt throughout; not, however, because the voyage is made an occasion for exhibiting the author, but because his purpose is to describe it as it came under his own eye, and specially affected himself. The effect is, that a narrative of no small variety, and embracing many persons and transactions, is bound together by a principle of unity, which could scarcely be more perfect and operative if he had been at liberty, like Defoe, to invent his facts, and group them at his pleasure. The whole economy of the ship, in all sorts of weather, and even the mystery of hide-droghing, hide-curing, and hide-loading, with their humble details, and, sometimes, obscure nomenclature, partake of the interest which belongs to matters of more obvious and natural attraction in themselves. The reader would no sooner pass over the most ordinary particulars, than he would the "slipping for a southeaster," or the perils of doubling the Cape.

The style we had never thought of as a distinct thing, till we began to prepare this notice; and, no doubt, because it calls for no separate remark, and is content with doing its work. It is plain, straight-forward, and manly, never swollen for effect, or kept down from apprehension. There is no appearance of seeking for words; but those that will best answer the purpose, come and fall into their proper places of their own will; so that, whatever the transitions may be, the composition flows on with natural, stream-like varieties, while we partake of the changing influences without a word of comment and probably with little consciousness. This we suppose is the perfection of style, so far as impression is concerned; and to some extent it will always be found in an intelligent writer, who, without thinking much of himself, or of making a sensation, says honestly how things were, and how they affected him. We must not, however, attribute too much to sincerity, or even to intelligence. Where language is employed with singular fitness and ease, a writer must be deep in the secret of its power, though at little trouble in managing it.

It would be easy to cite short passages, that have a defined beauty of some kind; those, for example, in which a few lively words are rapidly thrown together, as if a thing must be told at once or never, for nothing can be suffered to delay

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the course of the story, any more than of the ship. Some instances of such brisk and effective description may be observed in the few passages which we select for a more general purpose.

We begin with the preparations for flying before a southeaster, in the Bay of Santa Barbara, on the coast of California.

"This night, after sundown, it looked black at the southward and eastward, and we were told to keep a bright lookout. Expecting to be called up, we turned in early. Waking up about midnight, I found a man who had just come down from his watch, striking a light. He said that it was beginning to puff up from the southeast, and that the sea was rolling in, and he had called the captain; and as he threw himself down on his chest, with all his clothes on, I knew that he expected to be called. I felt the vessel pitching at her anchor, and the chain surging and snapping, and lay awake, expecting an instant summons. In a few minutes it came, — three knocks on the scuttle, and 'All hands ahoy! bear-a-hand up and make sail.' We sprang up for our clothes, and were about halfway dressed, when the mate called out, down the scuttle, 'Tumble up here, men! tumble up! before she drags her anchor.' We were on deck in an instant. 'Lay aloft and loose the topsails!' shouted the captain, as soon as the first man showed himself. Springing into the rigging, I saw that the *Ayacucho's* topsails were loosed, and heard her crew singing out at the sheets as they were hauling them home. This had probably started our captain; as 'old Wilson' (the captain of the *Ayacucho*) had been many years on the coast, and knew the signs of the weather. We soon had the topsails loosed; and one hand remaining, as usual, in each top, to overhaul the rigging and light the sail out, the rest of us laid down to man the sheets. While sheeting home, we saw the *Ayacucho* standing athwart our bows, sharp upon the wind, cutting through the head sea like a knife, with her raking masts and sharp bows running up like the head of a greyhound. It was a beautiful sight. She was like a bird which had been frightened, and had spread her wings in flight. After the topsails had been sheeted home, the head yards braced aback, the fore-top-mast staysail hoisted, and the buoys streamed, and all ready forward for slipping, we went aft and manned the slip-rope, which came through the stern port, with a turn round the timber-heads. 'All ready forward?' asked the captain. 'Ay, ay, sir; all ready,' answered the mate. 'Let go!' 'All gone, sir;' and the iron cable grated over the windlass

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and through the hawse-hole, and the little vessel's head swinging off from the wind under the force of her backed head sails, brought the strain upon the slip-rope. 'Let go aft!' Instantly all was gone, and we were under weigh. As soon as she was well off from the wind, we filled away the head yards, braced all up sharp, set the foresail and trysail, and left our anchorage well astern, giving the point a good berth. 'Nye 's off too,' said the captain to the mate; and, looking astern, we could just see the little hermaphrodite brig under sail, standing after us." — pp. 77–79.

The accounts of ships in different points of view will be understood by the least initiated readers, — for example, that of a vessel under full sail.

"Notwithstanding all that has been said about the beauty of a ship under full sail, there are very few who have ever seen a ship, literally, under all her sail. A ship coming in or going out of port, with her ordinary sails, and perhaps two or three studding-sails, is commonly said to be under full sail; but a ship never has all her sail upon her, except when she has a light, steady breeze, very nearly, but not quite, dead aft, and so regular that it can be trusted, and is likely to last for some time. Then, with all her sails, light and heavy, and studding-sails, on each side, alow and aloft, she is the most glorious moving object in the world. Such a sight, very few, even some who have been at sea a good deal, have ever beheld; for from the deck of your own vessel you cannot see her, as you would a separate object.

"One night, while we were in these tropics, I went out to the end of the flying-jib-boom, upon some duty, and, having finished it, turned round, and lay over the boom for a long time, admiring the beauty of the sight before me. Being so far out from the deck, I could look at the ship, as at a separate vessel; — and, there, rose up from the water, supported only by the small black hull, a pyramid of canvass, spreading out far beyond the hull, and towering up almost, as it seemed in the indistinct night air, to the clouds. The sea was as still as an inland lake; the light trade-wind was gently and steadily breathing from astern; the dark blue sky was studded with the tropical stars; there was no sound but the rippling of the water under the stem; and the sails were spread out, wide and high; — the two lower studding-sails stretching, on each side, far beyond the deck; the top-mast studding-sails, like wings to the top-sails; the top-gallant studding-sails spreading fearlessly out above them; still higher, the two royal studding-sails, looking like two kites flying from the

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same string; and, highest of all, the little sky-sail, the apex of the pyramid, seeming actually to touch the stars, and to be out of reach of human hand. So quiet, too, was the sea, and so steady the breeze, that, if these sails had been sculptured marble, they could not have been more motionless. Not a ripple upon the surface of the canvass; not even a quivering of the extreme edges of the sail, — so perfectly were they distended by the breeze. I was so lost in the sight, that I forgot the presence of the man who came out with me, until he said, (for he, too, rough old man-of-war's man as he was, had been gazing at the show,) half to himself, still looking at the marble sails, 'How quietly they do their work!'" — pp. 421 – 423.

One peril at least must be given. We take the description of a gale encountered near Cape Horn, on the outward voyage.

"A true specimen of Cape Horn was coming upon us. A great cloud of a dark slate-color was driving on us from the southwest; and we did our best to take in sail, (for the light sails had been set during the first part of the day,) before we were in the midst of it. We had got the light sails furled, the courses hauled up, and the topsail reef-tackles hauled out, and were just mounting the fore-rigging, when the storm struck us. In an instant the sea, which had been comparatively quiet, was running higher and higher; and it became almost as dark as night. The hail and sleet were harder than I had yet felt them; seeming almost to *pin us down* to the rigging. We were longer taking in sail than ever before; for the sails were stiff and wet, the ropes and rigging covered with snow and sleet, and we ourselves cold and nearly blinded with the violence of the storm. By the time we had got down upon deck again, the little brig was plunging madly into a tremendous head sea, which at every drive rushed in through the bow-ports and over the bows, and buried all the forward part of the vessel. At this instant the chief mate, who was standing on the top of the windlass, at the foot of the spenser mast, called out, 'Lay out there and furl the jib!' This was no agreeable or safe duty, yet it must be done. An old Swede, (the best sailor on board,) who belonged on the forecastle, sprang out upon the bowsprit. Another one must go; I was near the mate, and sprang forward, threw the downhaul over the windlass, and jumped between the knight-heads out upon the bow-sprit. The crew stood abaft the windlass and hauled the jib down, while we got out upon the weather side of the jib-boom, our feet on the foot-ropes, holding on by the

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spar, the great jib flying off to leeward and *slatting* so as almost to throw us off of the boom. For some time we could do nothing but hold on, and the vessel diving into two huge seas, one after the other, plunged us twice into the water up to our chins. We hardly knew whether we were on or off; when coming up, dripping from the water, we were raised high into the air. John (that was the sailor's name) thought the boom would go, every moment, and called out to the mate to keep the vessel off, and haul down the staysail; but the fury of the wind and the breaking of the seas against the bows defied every attempt to make ourselves heard, and we were obliged to do the best we could in our situation. Fortunately, no other seas so heavy struck her, and we succeeded in furling the jib 'after a fashion'; and, coming in over the staysail nettings, were not a little pleased to find that all was snug, and the watch gone below; for we were soaked through, and it was very cold. The weather continued nearly the same through the night." — pp. 37 – 39.

Of the comic adventures, we select a single example, with some doubt, however, whether it is half as laughable as the account of shipping a sea, on a later page.

"We had now got hardened to Cape weather, the vessel was under reduced sail, and every thing secured on deck and below, so that we had little to do but to steer and to stand our watch. Our clothes were all wet through, and the only change was from wet to more wet. It was in vain to think of reading or working below, for we were too tired, the hatchways were closed down, and every thing was wet and uncomfortable, black and dirty, heaving and pitching. We had only to come below when the watch was out, wring out our wet clothes, hang them up, and turn in and sleep as soundly as we could, until the watch was called again. A sailor can sleep anywhere, — no sound of wind, water, wood, or iron can keep him awake, — and we were always fast asleep when three blows on the hatchway, and the unwelcome cry of 'All starbowlines ahoy! Eight bells there below! Do you hear the news?' (the usual formula of calling the watch,) roused us up from our berths upon the cold, wet decks. The only time when we could be said to take any pleasure was at night and morning, when we were allowed a pint pot full of hot tea, (or, as the sailors significantly call it, 'water bewitched,') sweetened with molasses. This, bad as it was, was still warm and comforting, and, together with our sea biscuit and cold salt beef, made quite a meal. Yet even this meal was attended with some uncertainty. We had to go ourselves to the galley

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and take our kid of beef and tin pots of tea, and run the risk of losing them before we could get below. Many a kid of beef have I seen rolling in the scuppers, and the bearer lying at his length on the decks. I remember an English lad, who was always the life of the crew, but whom we afterwards lost overboard, standing for nearly ten minutes at the galley, with his pot of tea in his hand, waiting for a chance to get down into the forecastle; and seeing what he thought was a 'smooth spell,' started to go forward. He had just got to the end of the windlass, when a great sea broke over the bows, and for a moment I saw nothing of him but his head and shoulders; and at the next instant, being taken off of his legs, he was carried aft with the sea, until her stern lifting up and sending the water forward, he was left high and dry at the side of the long-boat, still holding on to his tin pot, which had now nothing in it but salt water. But nothing could ever daunt him, or overcome, for a moment, his habitual good humor. Regaining his legs, and shaking his fist at the man at the wheel, he rolled below, saying, as he passed, 'A man 's no sailor, if he can't take a joke.' The ducking was not the worst of such an affair, for, as there was an allowance of tea, you could get no more from the galley; and though the sailors would never suffer a man to go without, but would always turn in a little from their own pots to fill up his, yet this was at best but dividing the loss among all hands.

"Something of the same kind befell me a few days after. The cook had just made for us a mess of hot 'scouse,'—that is, biscuit pounded fine, salt beef cut into small pieces, and a few potatoes, boiled up together and seasoned with pepper. This was a rare treat, and I, being the last at the galley, had it put in my charge to carry down to the mess. I got along very well as far as the hatchway, and was just getting down the steps, when a heavy sea, lifting the stern out of water, and passing forward, dropping it down again, threw the steps from their place, and I came down into the steerage a little faster than I meant to do, with the kid on top of me, and the whole precious mess scattered over the floor. Whatever your feelings may be, you must make a joke of every thing at sea; and if you were to fall from aloft and be caught in the belly of a sail, and thus saved from instant death, it would not do to look at all disturbed, or to make a serious matter of it."—pp. 39 – 41.

What can be brighter, than these contrasts of the latitudes of Cape Horn in winter, and the luxury of the Atlantic tropics three or four weeks later?

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"For eight days we lay drifting about in this manner. Sometimes, — generally towards noon, — it fell calm; once or twice a round copper ball showed itself for a few moments in the place where the sun ought to have been; and a puff or two came from the westward, giving some hope that a fair wind had come at last. During the first two days, we made sail for these puffs, shaking the reefs out of the topsails and boarding the tacks of the courses; but, finding that it only made work for us when the gale set in again, it was soon given up, and we lay to under close-reefs. We had less snow and hail than when we were farther to the westward, but we had an abundance of what is worse to a sailor in cold weather, — drenching rain. Snow is blinding, and very bad when coming upon a coast, but, for genuine discomfort, give me rain with freezing weather. A snow-storm is exciting, and it does not wet through the clothes (which is important to a sailor); but a constant rain there is no escaping from. It wets to the skin, and makes all protection vain. We had long ago run through all our dry clothes, and, as sailors have no other way of drying them than by the sun, we had nothing to do but put on those which were the least wet. At the end of each watch, when we came below, we took off our clothes and wrung them out; two taking hold of a pair of trowsers, — one at each end, — and jackets in the same way. Stockings, mittens, and all, were wrung out also, and then hung up to drain and chafe dry against the bulk-heads. Then, feeling of all our clothes, we picked out those which were the least wet, and put them on, so as to be ready for a call, and turned-in, covered ourselves up with blankets, and slept until three knocks on the scuttle, and the dismal sound of 'All starbowlines ahoy! Eight bells, there below! Do you hear the news?' drawled out from on deck, and the sulky answer of 'Ay, ay!' from below, sent us up again.

"On deck, all was as dark as a pocket, and either a dead calm, with the rain pouring steadily down, or, more generally, a violent gale dead ahead, with rain pelting horizontally, and occasional variations of hail and sleet; — decks afloat with water swashing from side to side, and constantly wet feet; for boots could not be wrung out like drawers, and no composition could stand the constant soaking. In fact, wet and cold feet are inevitable in such weather, and are not the least of those little items which go to make up the grand total of the discomforts of a winter passage round the Cape. Few words were spoken between the watches as they shifted, the wheel was relieved, the mate took his place on the quarter-deck, the look-outs in the bows; and each man had his narrow space to

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walk fore and aft in, or, rather, to swing himself forward and back in, from one belaying pin to another, — for the decks were too slippery with ice and water to allow of much walking. To make a walk, which is absolutely necessary to pass away the time, one of us hit upon the expedient of sanding the deck; and afterwards, whenever the rain was not so violent as to wash it off, the weather-side of the quarter-deck, and a part of the waist and forecastle, were sprinkled with the sand which we had on board for holystoning; and thus we made a good promenade, where we walked fore and aft, two and two, hour after hour, in our long, dull, and comfortless watches. The bells seemed an hour or two apart, instead of half an hour, and an age to elapse before the welcome sound of eight bells. The sole object was to make the time pass on. Any change was sought for, which would break the monotony of the time; and even the two hours' trick at the wheel, which came round to each of us, in turn, once in every other watch, was looked upon as a relief. Even the never-failing resource of long yarns, which eke out many a watch, seemed to have failed us now; for we had been so long together that we had heard each other's stories told over and over again, till we had them by heart; each one knew the whole history of each of the others, and we were fairly and literally talked out. Singing and joking, we were in no humor for, and, in fact, any sound of mirth or laughter would have struck strangely upon our ears, and would not have been tolerated, any more than whistling, or a wind instrument. The last resort, that of speculating upon the future, seemed now to fail us, for our discouraging situation, and the danger we were really in, (as we expected every day to find ourselves drifted back among the ice,) 'clapped a stopper' upon all that. From saying, '*when* we get home,' — we began insensibly to alter it to '*if* we get home,' — and at last the subject was dropped by a tacit consent." — pp. 403 – 405.

"Our watches below were no more varied than the watch on deck. All washing, sewing, and reading was given up; and we did nothing but eat, sleep, and stand our watch, leading what might be called a Cape Horn life. The forecastle was too uncomfortable to sit up in; and, whenever we were below, we were in our berths. To prevent the rain, and the sea-water which broke over the bows, from washing down, we were obliged to keep the scuttle closed, so that the forecastle was nearly air-tight. In this little, wet, leaky hole, we were all quartered, in an atmosphere so bad, that our lamp, which swung in the middle from the beams, sometimes actually burned blue, with a large circle of foul air about it. Still, I was

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never in better health than after three weeks of this life. I gained a great deal of flesh, and we all ate like horses. At every watch, when we came below, before turning-in, the bread barge and beef kid were overhauled. Each man drank his quart of hot tea, night and morning; and glad enough we were to get it, for no nectar and ambrosia were sweeter to the lazy immortals, than was a pot of hot tea, a hard biscuit, and a slice of cold salt beef to us, after a watch on deck. To be sure, we were mere animals, and, had this life lasted a year instead of a month, we should have been little better than the ropes in the ship. Not a razor, nor a brush, nor a drop of water, except the rain and spray, had come near us all the time; for we were on an allowance of fresh water; and who would strip and wash himself in salt water on deck, in the snow and ice, with the thermometer at zero?" — pp. 407, 408.

Now we come at once to the tropics, for never was there a finer wind, or a ship more alive, than when she turned northward.

"We were now to the northward of the line, and every day added to our latitude. The Magellan Clouds, the last sign of south latitude, were sunk in the horizon, and the north star, the Great Bear, and the familiar signs of northern latitudes, were rising in the heavens. Next to seeing land, there is no sight which makes one realize more that he is drawing near home, than to see the same heavens, under which he was born, shining at night over his head. The weather was extremely hot, with the usual tropical alternations of a scorching sun and squalls of rain; yet not a word was said in complaint of the heat, for we all remembered that only three or four weeks before we would have given nearly our all to have been where we now were. We had a plenty of water, too, which we caught by spreading an awning, with shot thrown in to make hollows. These rain squalls came up in the manner usual between the tropics. — A clear sky; burning, vertical sun; work going lazily on, and men about decks with nothing but duck trowsers, checked shirts, and straw hats; the ship moving as lazily through the water; the man at the helm resting against the wheel, with his hat drawn over his eyes; the captain below, taking an afternoon nap; the passenger leaning over the taffrail, watching a dolphin following slowly in our wake; the sailmaker mending an old top-sail on the lee side of the quarter-deck; the carpenter working at his bench, in the waist; the boys making sinnet; the spun-yarn winch whizzing round and round, and the men walking slowly fore and aft with the yarns.

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—A cloud rises to windward, looking a little black; the sky-sails are brailed down; the captain puts his head out of the companion-way, looks at the cloud, comes up, and begins to walk the deck. — The cloud spreads and comes on; — the tub of yarns, the sail, and other matters, are thrown below, and the sky-light and booby-hatch put on, and the slide drawn over the forecastle. — 'Stand by the royal halyards;' — the man at the wheel keeps a good weather helm, so as not to be taken aback. — The squall strikes her. If it is light, the royal yards are clewed down, and the ship keeps on her way; but if the squall takes strong hold, the royals are clewed up, fore and aft; light hands lay aloft and furl them; top-gallant yards clewed down, flying-jib hauled down, and the ship kept off before it, — the man at the helm laying out his strength to heave the wheel up to windward. At the same time a drenching rain, which soaks one through in an instant. Yet no one puts on a jacket or cap; for if it is only warm, a sailor does not mind a ducking; and the sun will soon be out again. As soon as the force of the squall has passed, though to a common eye the ship would seem to be in the midst of it, — 'Keep her up to her course again!' — 'Keep her up, sir,' (answer); — 'Hoist away the top-gallant yards!' — 'Run up the flying-jib!' — 'Lay aloft, you boys, and loose the royals!' — and all sail is on her again before she is fairly out of the squall; and she is going on in her course. The sun comes out once more, hotter than ever, dries up the decks and the sailors' clothes; the hatches are taken off; the sail got up and spread on the quarter-deck; spun-yarn winch set a whirling again; rigging coiled up; captain goes below; and every sign of an interruption is removed." — pp. 429 – 431.

But it is time to speak of this volume as something more than an agreeable narrative or description. It abounds in matter for serious reflection. When a reader, who has known little of a sailor's life, finishes the book, (with gratitude, it may be, that the young adventurer is safe home again,) the thought most likely to spring up is, — what a dreadful doom is this of the common mariner, trained as he must be to habits which he can never hope to change, and reduced to a degradation which we must hope he has lost the sense of. He is a slave of the worst kind, for his toil is a peril, — industry and exposure go hand in hand. Even the apathy of habit is degrading as well as useful; for, if dangers have lost their power to intimidate, they have also lost their power to excite. Deeds worthy of the highest

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chivalry are done without the spirit of chivalry. The man has become a machine. If he perishes, why, danger is his element, as he and his comrades know, and death or an escape must be looked on with an equal eye. His fare is wretched while it lasts, and famine or scarcity is not unlikely to follow. He has hardly any indulgence of leisure or play-time, for he must work upon nothing rather than not appear to be doing something for the ship. His sleep is broken; his day-time monotonous. Hard masters are over him, and ill-usage the probable recompense of so much suffering for others. Hunger and stripes, wet and cold, — this is his portion at sea. On shore, he is confounded by the contrast of his situation; he is at the mercy of sharpers; he soon makes a beast of himself, and poverty or crime, probably both, drive him again to the forecastle. Let the hot-headed boy read this book before he makes up his mind to run away from home and follow the seas. Let parents read it, before they suffer a child of delicate training and unformed character to enter this den of horrors.

Such may be the reader's first thoughts on closing the book, and they are well accounted for by some statements in relation to this particular voyage, and, perhaps, warranted by the experience of many voyages. But we should not exaggerate real miseries, though universal, on ship-board. They are enough of themselves, and should be looked at truly, if we would learn how far they are necessary, and whether they may not be mitigated. The spirit of the book we have just read teaches us no lesson of sweeping condemnation, but is as judicious as it is honest. We have no right to hold any course of life to be inevitably an evil and a shame, which Heaven has opened to human labor, and which our tastes, wants, or avarice have invited and encouraged multitudes to follow. Hardship, surely, is not the ground on which any human condition is to be condemned or shunned, even though it be of man's inflicting. How few of us have it in our power to choose our course of life, and how few would be the better for having the decision left to themselves. If we take into view those hardships only of a sea-life which are obviously unavoidable, and compare them with the common lot of men, we shall not pronounce the sailor to be the only one whom his condition has made a great sufferer. Such comparisons are apt to be carried to extremes,

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by those who would reconcile the poor to their privations, and apprize them of their privileges; but they are certainly useful when they lead the considerate to deduct something from the palpable ills of one station, by measuring them with the less notable, but not less certain, trials and exposures of another.

As to the discipline of a ship, we do not learn, however strict it may be, however despotic the authority of the master, however unequal the comforts of officers and men, that these are subjects of complaint among good sailors. They may require, as any inferior would do, that the ordinary discipline should be uniform, intelligible, and, perhaps, reasonable; and, in doing so, the appeal would be direct to the interest of their superiors, for in no other way can the heart be brought to act with the law, and the best part of human agency be secured. The important question is, whether nothing can be done for seamen generally, as for other classes of laborers who are subjected to overseers, which may act upon them as moral beings, and give them just notions of their duties and rights. Their worst hardships are owing to the degraded character of the class. The impression is against them at the outset. They feel that the commander looks to his power for their fidelity; and probably many of them know, that he can depend on nothing else for his security. What a miserable relation is this between men, who are to live together for months or years, within narrow walls, so far from the restraints and supports of social life. Our author has attempted, in his closing chapter, to show what may be done to improve the condition of a sailor, to strip it of its accidental evils, and bring it to a level, in point of moral influences at least, with that of other laborers. His calm and reasonable statement, sustained by the authority of experience and his later reflections, recommends itself to the notice of owners and masters, and of those benevolent institutions and individuals, who are trying to effect reforms by investigating the evils incident to particular occupations and classes, and applying a remedy, as far as possible, to individual cases. It was after witnessing the infliction of punishment upon two of the sailors, under circumstances of brutal ferocity, that his mind was turned seriously to the purpose of doing something in behalf of this suffering class.

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"After the day's work was done, we went down into the forecastle, and ate our plain supper; but not a word was spoken. It was Saturday night; but there was no song, no 'sweethearts and wives.' A gloom was over every thing. The two men lay in their berths, groaning with pain, and we all turned in, but for myself, not to sleep. A sound coming now and then from the berths of the two men showed that they were awake, as awake they must have been, for they could hardly lie in one posture a moment; the dim, swinging lamp of the forecastle shed its light over the dark hole in which we lived; and many and various reflections and purposes coursed through my mind. I thought of our situation, living under a tyranny; of the character of the country we were in; of the length of the voyage, and of the uncertainty attending our return to America; and then, if we should return, of the prospect of obtaining justice and satisfaction for these poor men; and vowed that, if God should ever give me the means, I would do something to redress the grievances and relieve the sufferings of that poor class of beings, of whom I then was one." — pp. 129, 130.*

Hard as the life may have been, which he has recorded in these pages, he would have no cause to regret it, if the only fruit were, that it has enabled him to do a good office for his former brethren. We may add to this, that he has supplied a want of the common reader. Another field of industrious and painful life is here brought to our knowledge, with the real hardships of the case exposed, and with the genuine alleviations and sources of improvement that belong to it. It is good to see the spirit of man in his deeds and endurance, as well as in his meditations and poetical visions. It is one way of invigorating literature, of giving definiteness to speculation, and bringing prudent sympathy and charity to the study of our nature, capacities, and wants. "We must come down from our heights," says our author, "and leave our straight paths, for the by-ways and low places of life, if we would learn truths by strong contrasts; and in hovels, in forecastles, and among our own outcasts in foreign lands, see what has been wrought upon our fellow-creatures by accident, hardship, or vice."

In looking back upon what we have written, we see that

* The shipmaster, here in question, was a thorough seaman; but the distinguished house, for which he made the voyage, being informed, on his return, of his treatment of his men, found no further occasion for his services.

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we owe it to the author to commend yet more distinctly than we have done, an excellent trait of his work. It is plain, that he saw and experienced enough to irritate sorely a man of the calmest temper. On one occasion, that to which the last extract relates, he was witness to an abominably cruel exercise of a shipmaster's power, and at other times suffered from it himself, in less aggravated forms. But his tone is throughout dispassionate and reasonable. Bad as he has had cause to know a despotism on board ship to be, in hands unfit to be trusted with it, he is not at all blinded to those exigencies of the case, which admit of no other government.

"I have no fancies about equality on board ship. It is a thing out of the question, and certainly, in the present state of mankind, not to be desired. I never knew a sailor who found fault with the orders and ranks of the service; and, if I expected to pass the rest of my life before the mast, I would not wish to have the power of the captain diminished an iota. It is absolutely necessary that there should be one head and one voice, to control every thing, and be responsible for every thing. There are emergencies, which require the instant exercise of extreme power. These emergencies do not allow of consultation; and they who would be the captain's constituted advisers might be the very men over whom he would be called upon to exert his authority. It has been found necessary to vest in every government, even the most democratic, some extraordinary and, at first sight, alarming powers; trusting in public opinion, and subsequent *accountability, to modify* the exercise of them. These are provided to meet exigencies, which all hope may never occur, but which yet by possibility may occur, and, if they should, and there were no power to meet them instantly, there would be an end put to the government at once. So it is with the authority of the shipmaster. It will not answer to say, that he shall never do this and that thing, because it does not seem always necessary and advisable that it should be done. He has great cares and responsibilities; is answerable for every thing; and is subject to emergencies which perhaps no other man exercising authority among civilized people is subject to. Let him, then, have powers commensurate with his utmost possible need; only let him be held strictly responsible for the exercise of them. Any other course would be injustice, as well as bad policy." — pp. 461, 462.

The author, while he urges the importance of a fair consideration of the testimony of common sailors in courts of

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justice, asks for no new legislation on the relations of officers and crews. He does not even propose the abolition of corporal chastisement. He would have officers compelled to be reasonable and humane, by a sense of responsibility to their owners, and to a strict administration of existing laws at home; but there is not a word in his volume tending to loose the bonds of a salutary discipline. In short, he has laid readers under obligation for a fund of instruction and amusement; sailors, for impressively pleading their cause; and owners and officers, quite as much as either, for maintaining their just authority.

ART. IV. — *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent.* By GEORGE BANCROFT. Vol. III. Boston. Charles C. Little and James Brown. 8vo. pp. 468.

THE celebrated line of Bishop Berkeley,

"Westward the course of empire takes its way,"

is too gratifying to national vanity, not to be often quoted, (though not always quoted right); and, if we look on it in the nature of a prediction, the completion of it not being limited to any particular time, it will not be easy to disprove it. Had the Bishop substituted "freedom" for "empire" it would be already fully justified by experience. It is indeed curious to observe, how steadily the progress of freedom, civil and religious, — of the enjoyment of those rights, which may be called the natural rights of humanity, — has gone on from east to west; and how precisely the more or less liberal character of the social institutions of a country may be determined by its geographical position, as falling within the limits of one of the three quarters of the globe occupied wholly or in part by members of the great Caucasian family.

Thus, in Asia we find only far extended despotisms, in which but two relations are recognised, those of master and slave; a solitary master, and a nation of slaves. No constitution exists there to limit his authority; no intermediate body to counterbalance, or, at least, shield the people from its exercise. The people have no political existence. The monarch is literally the state. The religion of such countries

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is of the same complexion with their government. The free spirit of Christianity, quickening and elevating the soul by the consciousness of its glorious destiny, made few proselytes there. But Mahometanism, with its doctrines of blind fatality, found ready favor with those who had already surrendered their wills, — their responsibility, — to an earthly master. In such countries, of course, there has been little progress in science. Ornamental arts, and even the literature of imagination, have been cultivated with various success; but little has been done in those pursuits which depend on freedom of inquiry, and are connected with the best interests of humanity. The few monuments, of an architectural kind, that strike the traveller's eye, are the cold memorials of pomp and selfish vanity, not those of public spirit directed to enlarge the resources and civilization of an empire.

As we cross the boundaries into Europe, among the people of the same primitive stock, and under the same parallels, we may imagine ourselves transplanted to another planet. Man no longer grovels in the dust beneath a master's frown. He walks erect, as lord of the creation, his eyes raised to that heaven, to which his destinies call him. He is a free agent; thinks, speaks, acts for himself; enjoys the fruits of his own industry; follows the career suited to his own genius and taste; explores fearlessly the secrets of time and nature; lives under laws which he has assisted in framing; demands justice as his right, when those laws are invaded. In his freedom of speculation and action he has devised various forms of government. In most of them the monarchical principle is recognised; but the power of the monarch is limited by written or customary rules. The people at large enter more or less into the exercise of government; and a numerous aristocracy, interposed between them and the crown, secures them from the oppression of Eastern tyranny; while this body itself is so far an improvement in the social organization, that the power instead of being concentrated in a single person, — plaintiff, judge, and executioner, — is distributed among a large number of different individuals and interests. This is a great advance, in itself, towards popular freedom.

The tendency, almost universal, is to advance still further. It is this war of opinion, — this contest between light and darkness, now going forward in most of the countries of Europe, — which furnishes the point of view from which their history is to be studied in the present, and, it may be, the fol-

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lowing centuries. For, revolutions in society, when founded on opinion, — the only stable foundation, — the only foundation at which the friend of humanity does not shudder, — must be the slow work of time. And, who would wish the good cause to be so precipitated, that, in eradicating the old abuses which have interwoven themselves with every stone and pillar of the building, the noble building itself, which has so long afforded security to its inmates, should be laid in ruins? What is the best, what the worst form of government, in the abstract, may be matter of debate. But there can be no doubt, that the best will become the worst, to a people who blindly rush into it, without the preliminary training for comprehending and conducting it. Such transitions must, at least, cost the sacrifice of generations. And the patriotism must be singularly pure and abstract, which, at such cost, would purchase the possible, or even probable, good of a remote posterity. Various have been the efforts in the Old World at popular forms of government. But from some cause or other they have failed. And, however time, a wider intercourse, a greater familiarity with the practical duties of representation, and, not least of all, our own auspicious example, may prepare the European mind for the possession of republican freedom, it is very certain, that, at the present moment, Europe is not the place for republics.

The true soil for these is our own continent; the New World, the last of the three great geographical divisions, of which we have spoken. This is the spot on which the beautiful theories of the European philosopher, — who had risen to the full freedom of speculation, while action was controlled, — have been reduced to practice. The atmosphere here seems as fatal to the arbitrary institutions of the Old World, as that has been to the democratic forms of our own. It seems scarcely possible, that any other organization than these latter should exist here. In three centuries from the discovery of the country, the various races by which it is tenanted, some of them from the least liberal of the European monarchies, have, with few exceptions, come into the adoption of institutions of a republican character. Toleration, civil and religious, has been proclaimed, and enjoyed to an extent unknown since the world began, throughout the wide borders of this vast continent. Alas! for those portions which have assumed the exercise of these rights without fully compre-

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hending their import; who have been intoxicated with the fumes of freedom, instead of drawing nourishment from its living principle.

It was a fortunate, or, to speak more properly, a providential thing, that the discovery of the New World was postponed to the precise period when it occurred. Had it taken place at an earlier time, — during the flourishing period of the feudal ages, for example, — the old institutions of Europe, with their hallowed abuses, might have been ingrafted on this new stock, and, instead of the fruit of the tree of life, we should have furnished only varieties of a kind already far exhausted, and hastening to decay. But happily, some important discoveries in science, and, above all, the glorious Reformation, gave an electric shock to the intellect, long benumbed under the influence of a tyrannical priesthood. It taught men to distrust authority, to trace effects back to their causes, to search for themselves, and to take no guide but the reason which God had given them. It taught them to claim the right of free inquiry, as their inalienable birthright, and, with free inquiry, freedom of action. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the period of the mighty struggle between the conflicting elements of religion, as the eighteenth and nineteenth have been that of the great contest for civil liberty.

It was in the midst of this universal ferment, and in consequence of it, that these shores were first peopled by our Puritan ancestors. Here they found a world where they might verify the value of those theories, which had been derided as visionary, or denounced as dangerous, in their own land. All around was free, free as nature herself. The mighty streams rolling on in their majesty, as they had continued to flow from the creation; the forests, which no hand had violated, flourishing in primeval grandeur and beauty; their only tenants the wild animals, or the Indians nearly as wild, scarcely held together by any tie of social polity. Nowhere was the trace of civilized man, or of his curious contrivances. Here was no Star-Chamber, nor Court of High Commission; no racks, nor jails, nor gibbets; no feudal tyrant to grind the poor man to the dust on which he toiled; no Inquisition, to pierce into the thought, and to make thought a crime. The only eye that was upon them was the eye of Heaven.

True, indeed, in the first heats of suffering enthusiasm they did not extend that charity to others, which they claimed for

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themselves. It was a blot on their characters, but one which they share in common with most reformers. The zeal requisite for great revolutions, whether in church or state, is rarely attended by charity for difference of opinion. Those, who are willing to do and to suffer bravely for their own doctrines, attach a value to them which makes them impatient of opposition from others. The martyr for conscience' sake cannot comprehend the necessity of leniency to those who denounce those truths for which he is prepared to lay down his own life. If he set so little value on his own, is it natural he should set more on that of others? The Dominican, who dragged his victims to the fires of the Inquisition in Spain, freely gave up his ease and his life to the duties of a missionary among the heathen. The Jesuits, who suffered martyrdom among the American savages in the propagation of their faith, stimulated those very savages in their horrid massacres of the Protestant settlements of New England. God has not often combined charity with enthusiasm. When he has done so, he has produced his noblest work; — a More, or a Fenelon.

But, if the first settlers were intolerant in practice, they brought with them the living principle of freedom, which would survive, when their generation had passed away. They could not avoid it. For their coming here was, in itself, an assertion of that principle. They came for conscience' sake; to worship God in their own way. Freedom of political institutions they at once avowed. Every citizen took his part in the political scheme, and enjoyed all the consideration of an equal participation in civil privileges; and liberty in political matters gradually brought with it a corresponding liberty in religious concerns. In their subsequent contest with the mother country they learned a reason for their faith, and the best manner of defending it. Their liberties struck a deep root in the soil amidst storms, which shook, but could not prostrate them. It is this struggle with the mother country, this constant assertion of the right of self-government, this tendency, — feeble in its beginning, increasing with increasing age, — towards republican institutions, which connects the Colonial history with that of the Union, and forms the true point of view, from which it is to be regarded.

The history of this country naturally divides itself into three great periods; the Colonial, when the idea of independence

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was slowly and gradually ripening in the American mind; the Revolutionary, when this idea was maintained by arms; and that of the Union, when it was reduced to practice. The two first heads are now ready for the historian. The last is not yet ripe for him. Important contributions may be made to it, in the form of local narratives, personal biographies, political discussions, subsidiary documents, and *mémoires pour servir;* but we are too near the strife, too much in the dust and mist of the parties, to have reached a point sufficiently distant and elevated to embrace the whole field of operations in one view, and paint it in its true colors and proportions, for the eye of posterity. We are, besides, too new as an independent nation, our existence has been too short, to satisfy the skepticism of those who distrust the perpetuity of our political institutions. They do not consider the problem, so important to humanity, as yet solved. Such skeptics are found, not only abroad, but at home. Not that the latter suppose the possibility of again returning to those forms of arbitrary government, which belong to the Old World. It would not be more chimerical to suspect the Emperor Nicholas, or Prince Metternich, or the citizen-king Louis-Philippe, of being republicans at heart, and sighing for a democracy, than to suspect the people of this country, (above all, of New England, the most thorough democracy in existence), — who have inherited republican principles and feelings from their ancestors, drawn them in with their mothers' milk, breathed the atmosphere of them from their cradle, participated in their equal rights and glorious privileges, — of foregoing their birthright, and falsifying their nature, so far as to acquiesce in any other than a popular form of government. But there are some skeptics, who, when they reflect on the fate of similar institutions in other countries; when they see our sister states of South America, after nobly winning their independence, split up into insignificant fractions; when they see the abuses, which, from time to time, have crept into our own administration, and the violence offered, in manifold ways, to the constitution; when they see ambitious and able statesmen in one section of the country proclaiming principles, which must palsy the arm of the federal government, and urging the people of their own quarter to efforts for securing their independence of every other quarter; — there are, we say, some wise and benevolent minds among us, who, seeing all this, feel

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a natural distrust as to the stability of the federal compact, and consider the experiment as still in progress.

We, indeed, are not of that number, while we respect and feel the weight of their scruples. We sympathize fully in those feelings, those hopes, it may be, which animate the great mass of our countrymen. Hope is the attribute of republics. It should be peculiarly so of ours. Our fortune is all in the advance. We have no past, as compared with the nations of the Old World. Our existence is but a couple of centuries, dating from our embryo state; our real existence as an independent people, little more than half a century. We are to look forward, then, and go forward; not with vainglorious boasting, but with resolution and honest confidence. Boasting, indecorous in all, is peculiarly so in those, who take credit for the great things they are going to do, not those they have done. The glorification of an Englishman, or a Frenchman, with a long line of annals in his rear, may be offensive; that of an American is ridiculous. But we may feel a just confidence from the past, that we shall be true to ourselves for the future; that, to borrow a cant phrase of the day, we shall be true to our *mission*, — the most momentous ever intrusted to a nation; that there is sufficient intelligence and moral principle in the people, if not always to choose the best rulers, at least, to right themselves by the ejection of bad ones, when they find they have been abused; that they have intelligence enough to understand that their only consideration, their security as a nation, is in union; that separation into smaller communities is the creation of so many hostile states; that a large extent of empire, instead of being an evil, from embracing regions of irreconcilable local interests, is a benefit, since it affords the means of that commercial reciprocity, which makes the country, by its own resources, independent of every other; and that the representatives drawn from these "magnificent distances," will, on the whole, be apt to legislate more independently, and on broader principles, than if occupied with the concerns of a petty state, where each legislator is swayed by the paltry factions of his own village. In all this we may honestly confide; but our confidence will not pass for argument, will not be accepted as a solution of the problem. Time only can solve it; and until the period has elapsed, which shall have fairly tested the strength of our institutions, through peace and

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through war, through adversity and more trying prosperity, the time will not have come to write the history of the Union.

But still, results have been obtained sufficiently glorious to give great consideration to the two preliminary narratives, namely, of the Colonies, and the Revolution, which prepared the way for the Union. Indeed, without these results, they would both, however important in themselves, have lost much of their dignity and interest. Of these two narratives, the former, although less momentous than the latter, is most difficult to treat.

It is not that the historian is called on to pry into the dark recesses of antiquity, the twilight of civilization, mystifying and magnifying every object to the senses; nor to unravel some poetical mythology, hanging its metaphorical illusions around every thing in nature, mingling fact with fiction, the material with the spiritual, until the honest inquirer after truth may fold his arms in despair, before he can cry εὕρηκα; nor is he compelled to unroll musty, worm-eaten parchments, and dusty tomes in venerable black letter, of the good times of honest Caxton and Winken de Worde; nor to go about gleaning traditionary tales and ballads in some obsolete provincial *patois*. The record is plain and legible, and he need never go behind it. The antiquity of his story goes but little more than two centuries back; a very modern antiquity. The commencement of it was not in the dark ages, but in a period of illumination; an age yet glowing with the imagination of Shakspeare and Spenser, the philosophy of Bacon, the learning of Coke and of Hooker. The early passages of his story, — coeval with Hampden, and Milton, and Sydney, — belong to the times, in which the same struggle for the rights of conscience was going on in the land of our fathers, as in our own. There was no danger that the light of the Pilgrim should be hid under a bushel, or that there should be any dearth of chronicler or bard, — such as they were, — to record his sacrifice. And fortunate for us that it was so; since, in this way, every part of this great enterprise, from its conception to its consummation, is brought into the light of day. We are put in possession, not merely of the action, but of the motives which led to it, and, as to the character of the actors, are enabled to do justice to those, who, if we pronounce from their actions only, would seem not always careful to do justice to themselves.

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The embarrassment of the Colonial history arises from the difficulty of obtaining a central point of interest, among so many petty states, each independent of the others; and all, at the same time, so dependent on a foreign one, as to impair the historic dignity which attaches to great, powerful, and self-regulated communities. This embarrassment must be overcome by the author's detecting, and skilfully keeping before the reader, some great principle of action, if such exist, that may give unity and, at the same time, importance to the theme. Such a principle did exist in that tendency to independence, which, however feeble, till fanned by the breath of persecution into a blaze, was nevertheless the vivifying principle, as before remarked, of our ante-revolutionary annals.

Whoever has dipped much into historical reading is aware how few have succeeded in weaving an harmonious tissue from the motley and tangled skein of general history. The most fortunate illustration of this, within our recollection, is Sismondi's *Républiques Italiennes*, a work in sixteen volumes, in which the author has brought on the stage all the various governments of Italy for a thousand years, and in almost every variety of combination. Yet there is a pervading principle in this great mass of apparently discordant interests. That principle was the rise and decline of liberty. It is the key note to every revolution that occurs. It gives an harmonious tone to the many-colored canvass, which would else have offended by its glaring contrasts, and the startling violence of its transitions. The reader is interested, in spite of the transitions, but knows not the cause. This is the skill of a great artist. So true is this, that the same author has been able to concentrate what may be called the essence of his bulky history into a single volume, in which he confines himself to the developement of the animating principle of his narrative, stripped of all the superfluous accessories, under the significant title of "Rise, Progress, and Decline of Italian Freedom."

This embarrassment has not been easy to overcome by the writers of our Colonial annals. The first volume of Marshall's "Life of Washington" has great merit as a wise and comprehensive survey of this early period. But the plan is too limited to afford room for any thing like a satisfactory fulness of detail. The most thorough work, and incomparably the best on the subject, previous to the appearance of Mr.

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Bancroft's, is the well-known history by Mr. Grahame, a truly valuable book, in which the author, though a foreigner, has shown himself capable of appreciating the motives, and comprehending the institutions, of our Puritan ancestors. He has spared no pains in the investigation of such original sources as were at his command; and has conducted his inquiries with much candor, manifesting throughout the spirit of a scholar and a gentleman. It is not very creditable to his countrymen, that they should have received his labors with the apathy which he tells us they have, amidst the ocean of contemptible trash, with which their press is daily deluged. But, in truth, the Colonial and Revolutionary story of this country are themes too ungrateful to British ears, for us to be astonished at any insensibility on this score.

Mr. Grahame's work, however, with all its merit, is the work of a *foreigner*. And that word comprehends much that cannot be overcome by the best writer. He may produce a beautiful composition, faultless in style, accurate in the delineation of prominent events, full of sound logic, and most wise conclusions. But he cannot enter into the sympathies, comprehend all the minute feelings, prejudices, and peculiar ways of thinking, which form the idiosyncrasy of the nation. What can he know of these, who has never been warmed by the same sun, lingered among the same scenes, listened to the same tales in childhood, been pledged to the same interests in manhood, by which these fancies are nourished, — the loves, the hates, the hopes, the fears, that go to form national character? Write as he will, he is still an alien, speaking a tongue, in which the nation will detect the foreign accent. He may produce a book without a blemish in the eyes of foreigners. It may even contain much for the instruction of the native, that he would not be likely to find in his own literature. But it will afford evidence, on every page, of its exotic origin. Botta's "History of the War of the Revolution," is the best treatise yet compiled of that event. It is, as every one knows, a most classical and able work, doing justice to the great heroes and actions of the period. But, we will venture to say, no well-informed American ever turned over its leaves, without feeling that the writer was not nourished among the men and the scenes he is painting. With all its great merits, it cannot be, — at least for Americans, — *the* history of the Revolution.

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It is the same as in portrait-painting. The artist may catch the prominent lineaments, the complexion, the general air, the peculiar costume of his subject; all that a stranger's eye will demand. But he must not hope, unless he has had much previous intimacy with the sitter, to transfer those fleeting shades of expression, the almost imperceptible play of features, which are revealed to the eye of his own family.

Who would think of looking to a Frenchman for a history of England; to an Englishman for the best history of France? Ill fares it with the nation that cannot find writers of genius to tell its own story. What foreign hand could have painted, like Herodotus and Thucydides, the achievements of the Greeks? Who, like Livy and Tacitus, have portrayed the shifting character of the Roman, in his rise, meridian, and decline? Had the Greeks trusted their story to these same Romans, what would have been their fate with posterity? Let the Carthaginians tell. All that remains of this nation, the proud rival of Rome, who once divided with her the empire of the Mediterranean, and surpassed her in commerce and civilization, — nearly all that now remains, to indicate her character, is a poor proverb, — *Punica fides*, a brand of infamy given by the Roman historian; and one which the Romans merited probably as richly as the Carthaginians. Yet America, it is too true, must go to Italy for the best history of the Revolution, and to Scotland for the best history of the Colonies. Happily, the work before us bids fair, when completed, to supply this deficiency. And it is quite time we should turn to it.

Mr. Bancroft's first two volumes have been too long before the public to require any thing to be now said of them. Indeed, the first has already been the subject of a particular notice in this Journal.* These volumes are mainly occupied with the settlement of the country by the different colonies, and the institutions gradually established among them, with a more particular illustration of the remarkable features in their character or policy.

In the present volume the immediate point of view is somewhat changed. It was no longer necessary to treat each of the colonies separately, and a manifest advantage in respect to unity is gained by their being brought more under one aspect.

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XL. pp. 99 *et seq.*

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A more prominent feature is gradually developed by the relations with the mother country. This is the mercantile system, as it is called by economical writers, which distinguishes the colonial policy of modern Europe from that of ancient. The great object of this system was to get as much profit from the colonies, with as little cost to the mother country, as possible. The former, instead of being regarded as an integral part of the empire, were held as property ; to be dealt with for the benefit of the proprietors. This was the great object of legislation, almost the sole one. The system, so different from any thing known in antiquity, was introduced by the Spaniards and Portuguese, and by them carried to an extent, which no other nation has cared to follow. By the most cruel and absurd system of prohibitory legislation, their colonies were cut off from intercourse with all but the parent country. And as the latter was unable to supply their demands for even the necessaries of life, an extensive contraband trade was introduced, which, without satisfying the wants of the colonies, corrupted their morals. It is an old story, and the present generation has witnessed the results, in the ruin of those fine countries, and the final assertion of their independence, which the degraded condition, in which they had been held, has wholly unfitted them to enjoy.

The English government was too wise and liberal to press thus heavily on its transatlantic subjects. But the policy was similar, consisting, as is well known, and is ably delineated in these volumes, of a long series of restrictive measures, tending to cramp their free trade, manufactures, and agriculture, and to secure the commercial monopoly of Great Britain. This is the point, from which events in the present volume are to be more immediately contemplated, all subordinate, like those in the preceding, to that leading principle of a republican tendency, — the centre of attraction, controlling the movements of the numerous satellites in our colonial system.

The introductory chapter in the volume opens with a view of the English Revolution in 1688, which, though not popular, is rightly characterized as leading the way to popular liberty. Its great object was the security of property ; and our author has traced its operation, in connexion with the gradual progress of commercial wealth, to give greater authority to the mercantile system. We select the following original sketch of the character of William the Third.

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"The character of the new monarch of Great Britain could mould its policy, but not its constitution. True to his purposes, he yet wins no sympathy. In political sagacity, in force of will, far superior to the English statesmen who environed him; more tolerant than his ministers or his parliaments, the childless man seems like the unknown character in algebra, which is introduced to form the equation, and dismissed when the problem is solved. In his person thin and feeble, with eyes of a hectic lustre, of a temperament inclining to the melancholic, in conduct cautious, of a self-relying humor, with abiding impressions respecting men, he sought no favor, and relied for success on his own inflexibility and the greatness and maturity of his designs. Too wise to be cajoled, too firm to be complaisant, no address could sway his resolve. In Holland, he had not scrupled to derive an increased power from the crimes of rioters and assassins; in England, no filial respect diminished the energy of his ambition. His exterior was chilling; yet he had a passionate delight in horses and the chase. In conversation he was abrupt, speaking little and slowly, and with repulsive dryness; in the day of battle, he was all activity, and the highest energy of life, without kindling his passions, animated his frame. His trust in Providence was so connected with faith in general laws, that, in every action, he sought the principle which should range it on an absolute decree. Thus, unconscious to himself, he had sympathy with the people, who always have faith in Providence. 'Do you dread death in my company?' he cried to the anxious sailors, when the ice on the coast of Holland had almost crushed the boat that was bearing him to the shore. Courage and pride pervaded the reserve of the prince, who, spurning an alliance with a bastard daughter of Louis XIV., had made himself the centre of a gigantic opposition to France. For England, for the English people, for English liberties, he had no affection, indifferently employing the Whigs, who found their pride in the Revolution, and the Tories, who had opposed his elevation, and who yet were the fittest instruments 'to carry the prerogative high.' One great passion had absorbed his breast, — the independence of his native country. The harsh encroachments of Louis XIV., which, in 1672, had made William of Orange a revolutionary stadtholder, now assisted to constitute him a revolutionary king, transforming the impassive champion of Dutch independence into the defender of the liberties of Europe." — Vol. III. pp. 2 – 4.

The chapter proceeds to examine the relations, not always of the most friendly aspect, between England and the

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Colonies, in which Mr. Bancroft pays a well-merited tribute to the enlightened policy of Penn, and the tranquillity he secured to his settlement. At the close of the chapter is an account of that lamentable, — farce, we should have called it, had it not had so tragic a conclusion, — the Salem witchcraft.

Our author has presented some very striking sketches of these deplorable scenes, in which poor human nature appears in as humiliating a plight as would be possible in a civilized country. The Inquisition, fierce as it was, and most unrelenting in its persecutions, had something in it respectable in comparison with this wretched and imbecile self-delusion. The historian does not shrink from distributing his censure, in full measure, to those, to whom he thinks it belongs. The erudite divine, Cotton Mather, in particular, would feel little pleasure in the contemplation of the portrait sketched for him on this occasion. Vanity, according to Mr. Bancroft, was quite as active an incentive to his movements, as religious zeal. And, if he began with the latter, there seems no reason to doubt, that pride of opinion, an unwillingness to expose his error, so humiliating, to the world, perhaps even to his own heart, were powerful stimulants to his continuing the course he had begun, though others faltered in it.

Mr. Bancroft has taken some pains to show, that the prosecutions were conducted before magistrates not appointed by the people, but the crown; and that a stop was not put to them till after the meeting of the representatives of the people. This, in our view, is a distinction somewhat fanciful. The judges held their commissions from the governor; and, if he was appointed by the crown, it was, as our author admits, at the suggestion of Increase Mather, a minister of the people. The accusers, the witnesses, the jurors were all taken from the people. And, when a stop was put to further proceedings by the seasonable delay interposed by the General Court, before the assembling of the "legal Colonial" tribunal (thus giving time for the illusion to subside), it was, in part, from the apprehension that, in the rising tide of accusation, no man, however elevated might be his character or condition, would be safe.

In the following chapter, after a full exposition of the prominent features in the system of commercial monopoly, which controlled the affairs of the colonies, we are introduced

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to the great discoveries in the northern and western regions of the continent, made by the Jesuit missionaries of France. Nothing is more extraordinary in the history of this remarkable order, than their bold enterprise in spreading their faith over this boundless wilderness, in defiance of the most appalling obstacles which man and nature could present. Faith and zeal triumphed over all; and, combined with science and the spirit of adventure, laid open unknown regions in the heart of this vast continent, then roamed over by the buffalo and the savage, and now alive with the busy hum of an industrious and civilized population.

The historian has diligently traced the progress of the missionaries in their journeys into the western territory of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, down the deep basin of the Mississippi, to its mouth. He has identified the scenes of some striking events in the history of discovery, as, among others, the place where Marquette first met the Illinois tribe, at Iowa. No preceding writer has brought into view the results of these labors in a compass which may be embraced, as it were, in a single glance. The character of this order, and their fortune, form one of the most remarkable objects for contemplation in the history of man. Springing up, as it were, to prop the crumbling edifice of Catholicism, when it was reeling under the first shock of the Reformation, it took up its residence, indifferently, within the precincts of palaces, or in the boundless plains and forests of the wilderness; held the consciences of civilized monarchs in its keeping, and directed their counsels, while, at the same time, it was gathering barbarian nations under its banners, and pouring the light of civilization into the furthest and darkest quarters of the globe.

"The establishment of 'the Society of Jesus,'" says Mr. Bancroft, "by Loyola had been contemporary with the Reformation, of which it was designed to arrest the progress; and its complete organization belongs to the period when the first full edition of Calvin's 'Institutes' saw the light. Its members were, by its rules, never to become prelates, and could gain power and distinction only by influence over mind. Their vows were, poverty, chastity, absolute obedience, and a constant readiness to go on missions against heresy or heathenism. Their cloisters became the best schools in the world. Emancipated, in a great degree, from the forms of piety, separated

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from domestic ties, constituting a community essentially intellectual as well as essentially plebeian, bound together by the most perfect organization, and having for their end a control over opinion among the scholars and courts of Europe and throughout the habitable globe, the order of the Jesuits held, as its ruling maxims, the widest diffusion of its influence, and the closest internal unity. Immediately on its institution, their missionaries, kindling with a heroism that defied every danger and endured every toil, made their way to the ends of the earth; they raised the emblem of man's salvation on the Moluccas, in Japan, in India, in Thibet, in Cochin-China, and in China; they penetrated Ethiopia, and reached the Abyssinians; they planted missions among the Caffres: in California, on the banks of the Marañhon, in the plains of Paraguay, they invited the wildest of barbarians to the civilization of Christianity."

"Religious enthusiasm," he adds, "colonized New England; and religious enthusiasm founded Montreal, made a conquest of the wilderness on the upper Lakes, and explored the Mississippi. Puritanism gave New England its worship, and its schools; the Roman church created for Canada its altars, its hospitals, and its seminaries. The influence of Calvin can be traced to every New England village; in Canada, the monuments of feudalism and the Catholic church stand side by side; and the names of Montmorenci and Bourbon, of Levi and Conde, are mingled with memorials of St. Athanasius and Augustin, of St. Francis of Assisi, and Ignatius Loyola." — *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 121.

We hardly know which to select from the many brilliant and spirited sketches, in which this part of the story abounds. None has more interest, on the whole, than the discovery of the Mississippi by Marquette and his companions, and the first voyage of the white men down its majestic waters.

"Behold, then, in 1673, on the tenth day of June, the meek, single-hearted, unpretending, illustrious Marquette, with Joliet for his associate, five Frenchmen as his companions, and two Algonquins as guides, lifting their two canoes on their backs, and walking across the narrow portage that divides the Fox River from the Winconsin. They reach the water-shed; uttering a special prayer to the immaculate Virgin, they leave the streams that, flowing onwards, could have borne their greetings to the castle of Quebec; — already they stand by the Wisconsin. 'The guides returned,' says the gentle Marquette, 'leaving us alone, in this unknown land, in the hands of Providence.' France and Christianity stood in the valley of

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the Mississippi. Embarking on the broad Wisconsin, the discoverers, as they sailed west, went solitarily down the stream, between alternate prairies and hill-sides, beholding neither man nor the wonted beasts of the forest: no sound broke the appalling silence, but the ripple of their canoe, and the lowing of the buffalo. In seven days, 'they entered happily the Great River, with a joy that could not be expressed'; and the two birch-bark canoes, raising their happy sails under new skies and to unknown breezes, floated gently down the calm magnificence of the ocean stream, over the broad, clear sand-bars, the resort of innumerable waterfowl, — gliding past islands that swelled from the bosom of the stream, with their tufts of massive thickets, and between the wide plains of Illinois and Iowa, all garlanded as they were with majestic forests, or checkered by island grove and the open vastness of the prairie.

"About sixty leagues below the mouth of the Wisconsin, the western bank of the Mississippi bore on its sands the trail of men; a little foot-path was discerned leading into a beautiful prairie; and, leaving the canoes, Joliet and Marquette resolved alone to brave a meeting with the savages. After walking six miles, they beheld a village on the banks of a river, and two others on a slope, at a distance of a mile and a half from the first. The river was the Mou-in-gou-e-na, or Moingona, of which we have corrupted the name into Des Moines. Marquette and Joliet were the first white men who trod the soil of Iowa. Commending themselves to God, they uttered a loud cry. The Indians hear; four old men advance slowly to meet them, bearing the peace-pipe brilliant with many-colored plumes. 'We are Illinois,' said they; that is, when translated, 'We are men'; and they offered the calumet. An aged chief received them at his cabin with upraised hands, exclaiming, 'How beautiful is the sun, Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! Our whole village awaits thee; thou shalt enter in peace into all our dwellings.' And the pilgrims were followed by the devouring gaze of an astonished crowd.

"At the great council, Marquette published to them the one true God, their Creator. He spoke, also, of the great captain of the French, the Governor of Canada, who had chastised the Five Nations and commanded peace; and he questioned them respecting the Mississippi and the tribes that possessed its banks. For the messengers, who announced the subjection of the Iroquois, a magnificent festival was prepared of hominy, and fish, and the choicest viands from the prairies.

"After six days' delay, and invitations to new visits, the chieftain of the tribe, with hundreds of warriors, attended the strangers to their canoes; and, selecting a peace-pipe embel-

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lished with the head and neck of brilliant birds, and all feathered over with plumage of various hues, they hung round Marquette the mysterious arbiter of peace and war, the sacred calumet, a safeguard among the nations.

"The little group proceeded onwards. 'I did not fear death,' says Marquette; 'I should have esteemed it the greatest happiness to have died for the glory of God.' They passed the perpendicular rocks, which wore the appearance of monsters; they heard at a distance the noise of the waters of the Missouri, known to them by the Algonquin name of Pekitanoni; and, when they came to the most beautiful confluence of waters in the world, — where the swifter Missouri rushes like a conqueror into the calmer Mississippi, dragging it, as it were, hastily to the sea, — the good Marquette resolved in his heart, anticipating Lewis and Clarke, one day to ascend the mighty river to its source; to cross the ridge that divides the oceans, and, descending a westerly flowing stream, to publish the gospel to all the people of this New World.

"In a little less than forty leagues, the canoes floated past the Ohio, which was then, and long afterwards, called the Wabash. Its banks were tenanted by numerous villages of the peaceful Shawnees, who quailed under the incursions of the Iroquois.

"The thick canes begin to appear so close and strong, that the buffalo could not break through them; the insects become intolerable; as a shelter against the suns of July, the sails are folded into an awning. The prairies vanish; thick forests of whitewood, admirable for their vastness and height, crowd even to the skirts of the pebbly shore. It is also observed, that, in the land of the Chickasas, the Indians have guns.

"Near the latitude of thirty-three degrees, on the western bank of the Mississippi, stood the village of Mitchigamea, in a region that had not been visited by Europeans since the days of De Soto. 'Now,' thought Marquette, 'we must, indeed, ask the aid of the Virgin.' Armed with bows and arrows, with clubs, axes, and bucklers, amidst continual whoops, the natives, bent on war, embark in vast canoes made out of the trunks of hollow trees; but, at the sight of the mysterious peace-pipe held aloft, God touched the hearts of the old men, who checked the impetuosity of the young; and, throwing their bows and quivers into the canoes, as a token of peace, they prepared a hospitable welcome.

"The next day, a long, wooden canoe, containing ten men, escorted the discoverers, for eight or ten leagues, to the village of Akansea, the limit of their voyage. They had left the region of the Algonquins, and, in the midst of the Sioux and

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Chickasas, could speak only by an interpreter. A half league above Akansea, they were met by two boats, in one of which stood the commander, holding in his hand the peace-pipe, and singing as he drew near. After offering the pipe, he gave bread of maize. The wealth of his tribe consisted in buffalo skins; their weapons were axes of steel, — a proof of commerce with Europeans.

"Thus had our travellers descended below the entrance of the Arkansas, to the genial climes that have almost no winter but rains, beyond the bound of the Huron and Algonquin languages, to the vicinity of the Gulf of Mexico, and to tribes of Indians that had obtained European arms by traffic with Spaniards or with Virginia.

"So, having spoken of God, and the mysteries of the Catholic faith; having become certain that the Father of Rivers went not to the ocean east of Florida, nor yet to the Gulf of California, Marquette and Joliet left Akansea, and ascended the Mississippi.

"At the thirty eighth degree of latitude, they entered the River Illinois, and discovered a country without its paragon for the fertility of its beautiful prairies, covered with buffaloes and stags, — for the loveliness of its rivulets, and the prodigal abundance of wild duck and swans, and of a species of parrots and wild turkeys. The tribe of Illinois, that tenanted its banks, entreated Marquette to come and reside among them. One of their chiefs, with their young men, conducted the party, by way of Chicago, to Lake Michigan; and, before the end of September, all were safe in Green Bay.

"Joliet returned to Quebec to announce the discovery, of which the fame, through Talon, quickened the ambition of Colbert; the unaspiring Marquette remained to preach the gospel to the Miamis, who dwelt in the north of Illinois, round Chicago. Two years afterwards, sailing from Chicago to Mackinaw, he entered a little river in Michigan. Erecting an altar, he said mass after the rites of the Catholic church; then, begging the men who conducted his canoe to leave him alone for a half hour,

> 'in the darkling wood,
> Amidst the cool and silence, he knelt down,
> And offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks
> And supplication.'

At the end of the half hour, they went to seek him, and he was no more. The good missionary, discoverer of a world, had fallen asleep on the margin of the stream that bears his name. Near its mouth, the canoemen dug his grave in the sand. Ever after, the forest rangers, if in danger on Lake

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Michigan, would invoke his name. The people of the west will build his monument." — *Ibid.*, pp. 157 – 162.

The list of heroic adventurers in the path of discovery is closed by La Salle, the chivalrous Frenchman, of whom we have made particular record in a previous number of this Journal ; * and whose tremendous journey from the Illinois to the French settlements in Canada, a distance of fifteen hundred miles, is also noticed by Mr. Bancroft. His was the first European bark that emerged from the mouth of the Mississippi, and Mr. Bancroft, as he notices the event, and the feelings it gave rise to in the mind of the discoverer, gives utterance to his own, in language truly sublime.

" As he raised the cross by the Arkansas ; as he planted the arms of France near the Gulf of Mexico ; — he anticipated the future affluence of emigrants, and heard in the distance the footsteps of the advancing multitude that were coming to take possession of the valley." — *Ibid.*, p. 168.

This descent of the Great River, our author places, without hesitation, in 1682, being a year earlier than the one assigned by us in the article referred to.† Mr. Bancroft is so familiar with the whole ground, and has studied the subject so carefully, that great weight is due to his opinions. But he has not explained the precise authority for his conclusions in this particular.

This leads us to enlarge on what we consider a defect in our author's present plan. His notes are discarded altogether, and his references transferred from the bottom of the page to the side margin. This is very objectionable, not merely on account of the disagreeable effect produced on the eye, but from the more serious inconvenience of want of room for very frequent and accurate reference. Titles are necessarily much abridged, sometimes at the expense of perspicuity. The first reference in this volume is " Hallam, IV. 374." The second is "Archdale." Now Hallam has written several works, published in various forms and editions. As to the second authority, we have no means of identifying the passage at all. This, however, is not the habit of Mr. Bancroft where the fact is of any great moment ; and his references throughout are abundant. But the practice of references in the side margin, though warranted by high authority, is unfavorable, from want of room, for very frequent or very minute specification.

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. pp. 69 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 85.

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The omission of notes we consider a still greater evil. It is true they lead to great abuses, are often the vehicle of matter which should have been incorporated in the text, more frequently of irrelevant matter, which should not have been admitted anywhere; and thus exhaust the reader's patience, while they spoil the effect of the work by drawing the attention from the continuous flow of the narrative, checking the heat that is raised by it in the reader's mind, and not unfrequently jarring on his feelings by some misplaced witticism, or smart attempt at one. For these and the like reasons, many competent critics have pronounced against the use of notes, considering that a writer, who could not bring all he had to say into the compass of his text, was a bungler. Gibbon, who practised the contrary, intimates a regret in one of his letters, that he had been overruled so far as to allow his notes to be printed at the bottom of the page, instead of being removed to the end of the volume. But from all this we dissent, especially in reference to a work of research like the present History. We are often desirous here to have the assertion of the author, or the sentiment quoted by him, if important, verified by the original extract, especially when this is in a foreign language; we want to see the grounds of his conclusions, the scaffolding by which he has raised his structure; to estimate the true value of his authorities; to know something of their characters, positions in society, and the probable influences to which they were exposed. Where there is contradiction, we want to see it stated; the *pros* and the *cons*, and the grounds for rejecting this, and admitting that. We want to have a reason for our faith. Otherwise, we are merely led blindfold. Our guide may be an excellent guide; he may have travelled over the path till it has become a beaten track to him; but, we like to use our own eyesight too, to observe somewhat for ourselves, and to know, if possible, why he has taken this particular road, in preference to that which his predecessors have travelled.

The objections made to notes are founded rather on the abuse, than the proper use of them. Gibbon only wished to remove his own to the end of his volume. Though in this we think he erred, from the difficulty and frequent disappointment which the reader must have experienced in consulting them; a disappointment of little moment when unattended by difficulty. But Gibbon knew too well the worth of this

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part of his labors to him, to wish to discard them altogether. He knew his reputation stood on them as intimately as on his narrative. Indeed, they supply a body of criticism and well selected, well digested learning, which, of itself, would make the reputation of any scholar. Many accomplished writers, however, and Mr. Bancroft among the number, have come to a different conclusion. And he has formed his, probably, with deliberation, having made the experiment in both forms.

Indeed, the fulness of the extracts from original sources, with which his text is inlaid, giving such life and presence to it, and the frequency of his references, supersede much of the necessity of notes. We should have been very glad of one, however, of the kind we are speaking of, at the close of his expedition of La Salle.

We have no room for the discussion of the topics in the next chapter, relating to the hostilities for the acquisition of colonial territory between France and England, each of them pledged to the same system of commercial monopoly; but must pass to the author's account of the Aborigines east of the Mississippi. In this division of his subject, he brings into view the geographical positions of the numerous tribes; their languages, social institutions, religious faith, and probable origin. All these copious topics are brought within the compass of a hundred pages; arranged with great harmony, and exhibited with perspicuity and singular richness of expression. It is, on the whole, the most elaborate and finished portion of the volume.

His remarks on the localities of the tribes, instead of a barren muster-roll of names, are constantly enlivened by picturesque details connected with their situation. His strictures on their various languages are conceived in a philosophical spirit. The subject is one that has already employed the pens of the ablest philologists in this country, among whom it is only necessary to mention the names of Du Ponceau, Pickering, and Gallatin. Our author has evidently bestowed much labor and thought on the topic. He examines the peculiar structure of the languages, which, though radically different, bear a common resemblance in their compounded and synthetic organization. He has omitted to notice the singular exception to the polysynthetic formation of the Indian languages presented by the Otomie, which has afforded a Mexican philologist so ingenious a parallel, in its structure, with the

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Chinese. Mr. Bancroft concludes his review of them by admitting the copiousness of their combinations, and by inferring that this copiousness is no evidence of care and cultivation, but the elementary form of expression of a rude and uncivilized people ; in proof of which, he cites the example of the partially civilized Indian in accommodating his idiom gradually to the analytic structure of the European languages. May not this be explained by the circumstance, that the influence under which he makes this, like his other changes, is itself European ? But we pass to a more popular theme, the religious faith of the red man, whose fanciful superstitions are depicted by our author with highly poetical coloring.

" The red man, unaccustomed to generalization, obtained no conception of an absolute substance, of a self-existent being, but saw a divinity in every power. Wherever there was being, motion, or action, there to him was a spirit ; and, in a special manner, wherever there appeared singular excellence among beasts, or birds, or in the creation, there to him was the presence of a divinity. When he feels his pulse throb, or his heart beat, he knows that it is a spirit. A god resides in the flint, to give forth the kindling, cheering fire ; a spirit resides in the mountain cliff ; a spirit makes its abode in the cool recesses of the grottoes which nature has adorned ; a god dwells in each ' little grass ' that springs miraculously from the earth. ' The woods, the wilds, and the waters, respond to savage intelligence ; the stars and the mountains live ; the river, and the lake, and the waves, have a spirit.' Every hidden agency, every mysterious influence, is personified. A god dwells in the sun, and in the moon, and in the firmament ; the spirit of the morning reddens in the eastern sky ; a deity is present in the ocean and in the fire ; the crag that overhangs the river has its genius ; there is a spirit to the waterfall ; a household god dwells in the Indian's wigwam, and consecrates his home ; spirits climb upon the forehead, to weigh down the eyelids in sleep. Not the heavenly bodies only, the sky is filled with spirits that minister to man. To the savage divinity, broken, as it were, into an infinite number of fragments, fills all place and all being. The idea of unity in the creation may exist contemporaneously ; but it existed only in the germ, or as a vague belief derived from the harmony of the universe. Yet faith in the Great Spirit, when once presented, was promptly seized and appropriated, and so infused itself into the heart of remotest tribes, that it came to be often considered as a portion of their original faith. Their shadowy aspirations and creeds

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assumed, through the reports of missionaries, a more complete developement; and a religious system was elicited from the pregnant but rude materials." —*Ibid.*, pp. 285, 286.

The following pictures of the fate of the Indian infant, and the shadowy pleasures of the land of spirits, have, also, much tenderness and beauty.

"The same motive prompted them to bury with the warrior his pipe and his manitou, his tomahawk, quiver, and bow ready bent for action, and his most splendid apparel; to place by his side his bowl, his maize, and his venison, for the long journey to the country of his ancestors. Festivals in honor of the dead were also frequent, when a part of the food was given to the flames, that so it might serve to nourish the departed. The traveller would find in the forests a dead body placed on a scaffold erected upon piles, carefully wrapped in bark for its shroud, and attired in warmest furs. If a mother lost her babe, she would cover it with bark, and envelope it anxiously in the softest beaver-skins; at the burial-place, she would put by its side its cradle, its beads, and its rattles; and, as a last service of maternal love, would draw milk from her bosom in a cup of bark, and burn it in the fire, that her infant might still find nourishment on its solitary journey to the land of shades. Yet the new-born babe would be buried, not, as usual, on a scaffold, but by the wayside, that so its spirit might secretly steal into the bosom of some passing matron, and be born again under happier auspices. On burying her daughter, the Chippewa mother adds, not snow-shoes, and beads, and moccasons, only, but (sad emblem of woman's lot in the wilderness!) the carrying-belt and the paddle. 'I know my daughter will be restored to me,' she once said, as she clipped a lock of hair as a memorial; 'by this lock of hair I shall discover her, for I shall take it with me,'—alluding to the day when she, too, with her carrying-belt and paddle, and the little relic of her child, should pass through the grave to the dwelling-place of her ancestors."

"The faith, as well as the sympathies, of the savage descended also to inferior things. Of each kind of animal they say there exists one, the source and origin of all, of a vast size, the type and original of the whole class. From the immense invisible beaver come all the beavers, by whatever run of water they are found; the same is true of the elk and buffalo, of the eagle and robin, of the meanest quadruped of the forest, of the smallest insect that buzzes in the air. There lives for each class of animals this invisible, vast type, or elder brother. Thus the savage established his right to be classed by philoso-

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phers in the rank of realists ; and his chief effort at generalization was a reverent exercise of the religious sentiment. Where these older brothers dwell, they do not exactly know ; yet it may be that the giant manitous, which are brothers to beasts, are hid beneath the waters, and that those of the birds make their homes in the blue sky. But the Indian believes also, of each individual animal, that it possesses the mysterious, the indestructible principle of life ; there is not a breathing thing but has its shade, which never can perish. Regarding himself, in comparison with other animals, but as the first among coördinate existences, he respects the brute creation, and assigns to it, as to himself, a perpetuity of being. 'The ancients of these lands' believed that the warrior, when released from life, renews the passions and activity of this world; is seated once more among his friends ; shares again the joyous feast ; walks through shadowy forests, that are alive with the spirits of birds ; and there, in his paradise,

> "'By midnight moons, o'er moistening dews,
> In vestments for the chase arrayed,
> The hunter still the deer pursues, —
> The hunter and the deer a shade.'"

Ibid., pp. 295, 298.

At the close of this chapter, the historian grapples with the much-vexed question respecting the origin of the Aborigines, — that *pons asinorum*, which has called forth so much sense, and nonsense, on both sides of the water ; and will continue to do so, as long as a new relic, or unknown hieroglyphic, shall turn up, to irritate the nerves of the antiquary.

Mr. Bancroft passes briefly in review the several arguments adduced in favor of the connexion with Eastern Asia. He lays no stress on the affinity of languages, or of customs and religious notions ; considering these as spontaneous expressions of similar ideas and wants, in similar conditions of society. He attaches as little value to the resemblance established by Humboldt, between the signs of the Mexican calendar, and those of the signs of the zodiac in Thibet and Tartary ; and, as for the far-famed Dighton Rock, and the learned lucubrations thereon, he sets them down as so much moonshine, pronouncing the characters Algonquin. The *tumuli*, — the great tumuli of the West, — he regards as the work of no mortal hand, except so far as they have been excavated for a sepulchral purpose. He admits, however, vestiges of a migratory movement on our continent, from the northeast to the southwest ; shows very satisfactorily, by es-

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timating the distances of the intervening islands, the practicability of a passage, in the most ordinary sea-boat, from the Asiatic to the American shores, in the high latitudes ; and, by a comparison of the Indian and Mongolian skulls, comes to the conclusion that the two races are probably identical in origin. But the epoch of their divergence he places at so remote a period, that the peculiar habits, institutions, and culture of the Aborigines must be regarded as all their own, — as indigenous. This is the outline of his theory.

By this hypothesis he extricates the question from the embarrassment caused by the ignorance which the Aborigines have manifested in the use of iron, milk, &c., known to the Mongol hordes, but which he, of course, supposes were not known, at the time of the migration. This is carrying the exodus back to a far period. But the real objection seems to be, that, by thus rejecting all evidence of communication but that founded on anatomical resemblance, he has unnecessarily narrowed the basis on which it rests. The resemblance between a few specimens of Mongolian and American skulls is a narrow basis, indeed, taken as the only one, for so momentous a theory.

In fact, this particular point of analogy does not strike us as, by any means, the most powerful of the arguments in favor of a communication with the East ; when we consider the small number of the specimens, on which it is founded, the great variety of formation in individuals of the same family,— some of the specimens approaching even nearer to the Caucasian than the Mongolian, — and the very uniform deviation from the latter, in the prominence, and the greater angularity, of the features.

This connexion with the East derives, in our judgment, some support, feeble though it be, from affinities of language ; but this is a field which remains to be much more fully explored. The analogy is much more striking of certain usages and institutions, particularly of a religious character, and, above all, the mythological traditions, which those who have had occasion to look into the Aztec antiquities cannot fail to be struck with. This resemblance is oftentimes in matters so purely arbitrary, that it can hardly be regarded as founded in the constitution of man ; so very exact that it can scarcely be considered as accidental. We give up the Dighton Rock, that rock of offence to so many antiquaries, who

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may read in it the hand-writing of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, or Scandinavians, quite as well as any thing else. Indeed, the various *fac-similes* of it, made for the benefit of the learned, are so different from one another, that, like Sir Hudibras, one may find in it

"A leash of languages, at once."

We are agreed with our author, that it is very good Algonquin. But the zodiac, the Tartar zodiac, which M. de Humboldt has so well shown to resemble, in its terms, those of the Aztec calendar, we cannot so easily surrender. The striking coincidence established by his investigations between the astronomical signs of the two nations, — in a similar corresponding series, moreover, although applied to different uses, — is, in our opinion, one of the most powerful arguments yet adduced for the affinity of the two races. Nor is Mr. Bancroft wholly right in supposing that the Asiatic hieroglyphics referred only to the zodiac. Like the Mexican, they also presided over the years, days, and even hours. The strength of evidence, founded on numerous analogies, cannot be shown, without going into details, for which there is scarce room in the compass of a separate article, much less in the heel of one. Whichever way we turn, the subject is full of perplexity. It is the sphinx's riddle, and the Œdipus must be called from the grave who is to solve it.

In closing our remarks, we must express our satisfaction, that the favorable notice we took of Mr. Bancroft's labors, on his first appearance, has been fully ratified by his countrymen, and that his Colonial History establishes his title to a place among the great historical writers of the age. The reader will find the pages of the present volume filled with matter not less interesting and important than the preceding. He will meet with the same brilliant and daring style, the same picturesque sketches of character and incident, the same acute reasoning, and compass of erudition.

In the delineation of events, Mr. Bancroft has been guided by the spirit of historic faith. Not that it would be difficult to discern the color of his politics; nor, indeed, would it be possible for any one strongly pledged to any set of principles, whether in politics or religion, to disguise them in the discussion of abstract topics, without being false to himself, and giving a false tone to the picture. But, while he is true to himself, he has an equally imperative

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duty to perform, — to be true to others, to those on whose characters and conduct he sits in judgment as an historian. No pet theory, nor party predilections, can justify him in swerving one hair's breadth from truth in his delineation of the mighty dead, whose portraits he is exhibiting to us on the canvass of history.

Whenever religion is introduced, Mr. Bancroft has shown a commendable spirit of liberality. Catholics and Calvinists, Jesuits, Quakers, and Church-of-England men, are all judged according to their deeds, and not their speculative tenets. And, even in the latter particular, he generally contrives to find something deserving of admiration, some commendable doctrine or aspiration, in most of them. And what Christian sect, we might add, what sect of any denomination is there, which has not some beauty of doctrine to admire? Religion is the homage of man to his Creator. The forms in which it is expressed are infinitely various; but they flow from the same source, are directed to the same end, and all claim from the historian the benefit of toleration.

What Mr. Bancroft has done for the Colonial history is, after all, but preparation for a richer theme, the history of the War of Independence; a subject which finds its origin in the remote past, its results in the infinite future; which finds a central point of unity in the ennobling principle of independence, that gives dignity and grandeur to the most petty details of the conflict; and which has its foreground occupied by a single character, to which all others converge, as to a centre, — the character of Washington, in war, in peace, and in private life, the most sublime on historical record. Happy the writer who shall exhibit this theme worthily to the eyes of his countrymen!

The subject, it is understood, is to engage the attention, also, of Mr. Sparks, whose honorable labors have already associated his name imperishably with our Revolutionary period. Let it not be feared, that there is not compass enough in the subject for two minds so gifted. The field is too rich to be exhausted by a single crop, and will yield fresh laurels to the skilful hand that shall toil for them. The labors of Hume did not supersede those of Lingard, or Turner, or Mackintosh, or Hallam. The history of the English Revolution has called forth, in our own time, the admirable essays of Mackintosh and Guizot; and the palm of excellence, after the libraries that have been written on the French Rev-

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olution, has just been assigned to the dissimilar histories of Mignet and Thiers. The points of view, under which a thing may be contemplated, are as diversified as mind itself. The most honest inquirers after truth rarely come to precisely the same results, such is the influence of education, prejudice, principle. Truth, indeed, is single, but opinions are infinitely various ; and it is only by comparing these opinions together, that we can hope to ascertain what is truth.

ART. V. — *Elementary Geology.* By EDWARD HITCHCOCK, Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College, and Geologist to the State of Massachusetts. Amherst : J. S. &. C. Adams. 1840. 12mo. pp. 320.

AN extract from the Preface of the work before us, will best show the objects which its author proposes to accomplish.

" 1. It is arranged in the form of distinct propositions or principles, with definitions and proofs ; and the inferences follow those principles on which they are mainly dependent. 2. An attempt has been made to present the whole subject in its proper proportions, viz. its facts, theories, and hypotheses, with their historical and religious relations, and a sketch of the geology of all the countries of the globe that have been explored. 3. It is made more American than republications from European writers, by introducing a greater amount of our geology. 4. It contains copious references to writers, where the different points, here briefly discussed, may be found amply treated. 5. It contains a *Palæontological Chart*, whose object is to bring under a glance of the eye the leading facts respecting organic remains."

These are excellent traits in an elementary treatise on geology ; and, however slightly acquainted with the science, a reader cannot fail to perceive that it is here presented not only in a new but in a very attractive form, enabling the author to condense into a convenient compass, the vast amount of facts accumulated by his own personal observation, or derived from an extensive and minute knowledge of the labors

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of distinguished geologists. Professor Hitchcock has been too long and favorably known to scientific men, both of the new world and of the old, to make it necessary for us to say, with what ample qualifications he undertakes the task before him. His work is no "secondary formation," based on the published works of European writers, but in every part bears the impress of acute and original observation, and happy tact in presenting the immense variety of subjects treated in the following sections, into which the book is divided.

"Section I. A general account of the constitution and structure of the earth, and of the principles on which rocks are classified. Section II. The chemistry and mineralogy of geology. Section III. Lithological characters of the stratified rocks. Section IV. Lithological characters and relative age of the unstratified rocks. Section V. Palæontology, or the science of organic remains. Section VI. Operation of aqueous and atmospheric agencies in producing geological changes. Section VII. Operation of organic agencies in producing geological changes. Section VIII. Operation of igneous agencies in producing geological changes. Section IX. Connexion between geology and natural and revealed religion. Section X. The history of geology. Section XI. Geographical geology."

The work is illustrated with numerous wood-cuts, which, though substantially they answer the purpose intended, must be owned to be generally of a very inferior description. Indeed we cannot but say, that the whole mechanical execution of the work is altogether beneath the importance of the matter contained in its pages. Many of the cuts resemble the first rude essays in the art of wood engraving; and, in too many places, the typography is equalled only by some bad impressions of a penny paper. We consider excellence in these things of the highest importance in a work intended, like the present, for an elementary class-book. We shall regret it as much as the author himself, if his second edition comes not to us clothed in the best style of the American press. We ask for no more, and the intrinsic merit of the work demands no less.

But to return to its contents. The first section closes with a tabular view of all the systems of classification of rocks, which have been prepared by the great lights of modern geology. This table cannot fail to be of especial use to the student.

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It is a thread, guiding him out of a labyrinth. Professor Hitchcock does not implicitly follow any one system, but he arranges the stratified rocks into groups or systems, nearly corresponding to those of Professor John Phillips. These systems he disposes under the terms Alluvian, Diluvian, Tertiary, Secondary, and Primary, not because he "feels satisfied with these terms; but chiefly because they have become so incorporated with geological descriptions, that their use is still convenient, and but little liable to lead the learner astray; especially if he be forewarned against the hypothetical intimations which they contain." Yet another reason for using them is, that "there does exist in nature a ground for grouping together the rocks in some analogous manner."

Passing over the second, third, and fourth sections, all of which are executed in a manner to interest the general reader, and reward the diligent student, we arrive at the fifth, which is devoted to the science of Organic Remains. It occupies one fourth of the whole work, and is illustrated with the best cuts in the book. We venture to say, that there is not in our language so neat and compressed, yet so clear and correct, an account of the "wonders of geology." From its nature, Palæontology will ever be, as it has always been, the most popular and attractive portion of geology. We walk with our author in the Zoological Garden founded ages before the creation of man. He points out the gigantic plants of other days, uncages the great beasts, and "draws out with a hook the great leviathans." We almost hear their deep expirations, and witness the flapping of tails and fins in the "death flurry" of huge Saurians. We walk on the shore of an ancient ocean, collecting shells in countless variety. We bend our course inland, and are awed by the stupendous deposits of the siliceous shields of microscopic animalcula, or lost in admiration at foot-prints of gigantic birds. The American student, in this department of geology, has too long been referred to foreign localities for examples of these lost tribes. Professor Hitchcock has peculiarly "Americanized" this part of his subject. His own labors and discoveries in this department of geology mark an epoch in the science, though his modesty does not allow him to put forth that claim to merit, which all true sons of science willingly accord to his labors. He has not permitted himself to state, with its true fulness and force, a claim to the original invention

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of the ingenious and interesting "*Palæontological Chart*," which accompanies this portion of his work. But the merit of original conception is not the less his, because he happened subsequently to learn that something akin to it was contained in Professor Brown's "*Lethea Geognostica*," a work which he received after the account of his own chart was in type. We hope, that among the many works devoted to science, which issue from the Amherst Press, under his eye, we shall soon see, not only the chart of Professor Brown, but also the five folio colored lithographs of the Structure of the Earth, by Professors Noeggerath and Burkart.

We must refer our readers to the "Elementary Geology," not only for a "Synoptical View of the Fossil Footmarks," which are classed under the name of ICHNOLITES, and divided into several orders by our author, but also for information, as full and satisfactory as the present state of knowledge permits, on the character of organic remains; the nature and process of petrifaction; the means of determining the nature of organic remains, and their classification; their amount in the earth's crust; their distribution; and the account of the periods when different animals and plants began to appear, or when they became extinct. These, and their various allied subjects are discussed with a fulness which leaves the general student nothing to desire, and are followed by a series of inferences from the mass of facts, equally interesting and logical. It is here that we feel how truly Baconian, how full of fruit and progress, is the philosophy of modern Geology.

We cannot, however, agree with our author in the proof of his thirteenth inference, stated on page 161. We coincide wholly with the conclusion, "that the greater part of the accessible crust of the globe may once have constituted portions of the animal frame." In proof of this, Professor Hitchcock says, "In respect to limestone, which has been thought to constitute about one-seventh of the earth's crust, the presumption in favor of its animal origin seems quite probable." We were disposed, on the first reading, to understand that "animal origin" referred to animal secretion, or, in the words of Mantell, lime "had passed through the complex and wonderful laboratory of life." The idea, however, of Professor Hitchcock seems to be, that animals have the power of *forming lime*. It is repeated on page

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245, where "the cause why less lime is found in the older rocks" is said to be, that "probably it was then less in quantity, since it would seem to be derived in part, at least, from organic beings, which did not then exist." Again, on page 263, speaking of the soil in the earliest habitable state of the earth, our author pronounces it almost "destitute of calcareous matter." The inference here is in keeping with the "animal origin" to which we have referred. This "origin," then, is creation. Now we do not believe that the author intends to convey any such impression; yet his language conveys no other. And this is a doctrine at variance with all sound science. Whatever lime existed at the creation, exists now. "What was in the beginning" of elementary substances, exists now; as much now as then, neither more nor less; having the same properties and relations, obeying the same immutable laws of chemical combination. Its *form* only has changed. Animals have the power of changing these forms, of selecting and rearranging the primitive elements, but no power of producing them. We trust, that in a new edition the words "animal origin," and the other passages to which we have referred, will be so qualified as not to be subject to be understood as conveying ideas opposed to experience and to sound philosophy.

The sixth section is to us, who are dwellers upon diluvial drift, even more interesting than that at which we have last glanced. It is also still more "Americanized" than the preceding one, by the description and discussion of diluvial agency, and the vast amount of facts in our own geology, which our author here presents. This chapter will command the attention of foreign geologists, and for some time to come, we venture to predict, will form their text-book on this new and interesting department of inquiry; and American geologists are under the greatest obligations to our author for this succinct statement of his views upon a subject, to which we believe he first called their attention, and which he has done so much to elucidate. It is this section, more than any other, which impresses us with the necessity of original American works like the present; and, though it be "elementary," it contains a full account of all that is yet known of diluvial agency. We cannot present to our readers the author's account of the theories upon this subject; our limits preclude this specimen of his matter and manner.

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The causes of diluvial agency are wrapped in mystery. On no subject in geology is there such a diversity of opinion. No theory is perfectly satisfactory; all are partial in their application. The theories, and the arguments for and against them, are stated with great candor; and we perfectly agree with the author in his conclusion, "that the philosophical and unprejudiced mind will infer that the time has not yet arrived for forming a complete theory on this subject; and, therefore, that it is best to keep the mind open to the facts and reasonings from all quarters." — p. 202.

We are truly glad to find that Professor Hitchcock has incorporated, in his eighth section, the doctrines respecting Geine and Geates, first published by him in his "Report on the Reëxamination of the Geology of Massachusetts." It shows how firm is his conviction of the correctness of his Report, notwithstanding the attempts which have been made to discredit the existence of any such proximate principle as geine, and, of course, the fallacy of all doctrines relating to it. With a mind ever open to conviction, in that happy "philosophical and unprejudiced" state to which he refers, we doubt not our author will be ever among the first to relinquish doctrines which appear to him unstable; but till then, we quote for the benefit of our readers who may not have seen his longer "Report," the following account of geine and geates. Speaking of the agency of plants, he observes;

"When a complete decomposition takes place, a compound called *geine* is the result. If acted upon by an alkali, it assumes acid properties; and then combines with earths, alkalies, and oxides, forming neutral salts, which may be called *geates*. And, in fact, most of the geine in soils exists as geate of alumina, of lime, of magnesia, of iron, and manganese. It is these geates, with some geine, in an uncombined state, mixed with the detritus derived from the disintegration of rocks, and which are mostly silicates, that form soils, and especially vegetable mould. These geates and geine are more or less soluble in water, and in that condition are taken up by the rootlets of plants, and form a large part of their nourishment." — p. 206.

The remaining sections sketch, with the hand of a master, the more general questions of geological dynamics. We cannot forbear quoting the remark which follows the results of the experiments and reasoning of Fourier, on the tempera-

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ture of the earth and planetary space. It is a new epitaph, chiselled on the monument of Bowditch.

"These results of Fourier require the application of very profound mathematical investigations. And it may not be amiss to mention, that the late lamented Dr. Bowditch informed me, that he had followed Fourier, through all his intricate analyses of the subject, and that the reasoning was entirely conclusive." — p. 236.

ART. VI.—1. *Speech of* Mr. H. S. LEGARÉ, of South Carolina, *on the Bill imposing Additional Duties as Depositaries, in certain Cases, on Public Officers*, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, October, 1837. Washington: Office of "The Madisonian." 8vo. pp. 32.

2. *Speech of* Mr. WISE, of Virginia, *on the Subject of the Late Defalcations*, delivered in the House of Representatives, Dec. 21, 1838. Washington: Office of "The Intelligencer." 8vo. pp. 32.

3. *Speech of* Mr. DUNCAN, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, April 10, 1840, *on the Bill making Appropriations for the Civil and Diplomatic Expenses of the Government, for the Year* 1840. Washington: "Globe" Office. 8vo. pp. 20.

THERE are few things in this age and country of reform, more urgently demanding correction than the style of our *Congressional* debates. In the American halls of legislation, it is not unnatural to expect to find eloquence of a high character. No stimulus to the power of speech could well be greater than is furnished to him, who discusses the interests of a great people, for the conviction of those whose votes are to be decisive of its policy. A perfectly unrestricted freedom of deliberation exists. The body is, or ought to be, select, both branches numbering together less than three hundred members; most of whom, also, must needs have had abundant previous practice, as, in consequence of the electioneering usages of the greater portion of the country, its representatives must have spoken their way to their seats.

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There has been, and is, much good speaking in the Congress of the United States. With the best disposition for an impartial judgment, we cannot see reason to allow, that any deliberative orations of the day take precedence of the best American specimens, in the highest attributes of the art. But waving this, there is one remarkable difference, not disclosed in the printed reports, which is perceived on the first opportunity of actual comparison between the debates of the United States' Congress and of the British Parliament. In respect to ease and propriety in the mere expression of his thoughts, the English debater is generally far inferior to the American. He makes up for this, no doubt, by a far more indispensable merit. He talks no nonsense. He speaks to the point. He has thoroughly considered the subject. His mind is full of the needful facts. His argument is an effective, business-like piece of work. But it is astonishing how men of the highest culture, used to the best society from their birth, and with a position and an experience which one would think might give them confidence, — how the Great Duke, for instance, how Earl Spencer, how Lord Melbourne, to say nothing of names of less note, — will stammer and boggle through a speech, finishing one half of their sentences improperly, and leaving a good portion of the other half not finished at all. And this is the more surprising, when one considers that the speakers in the English House of Commons are still, even since the passage of the Reform Bill, a comparatively select corps. Until lately, five or six leading men on each side were about as many as ever took part in a debate. When an ambitious young member stepped into the ring, his first essay received a respectful attention. If he succeeded, he settled his right to speak for the future. If he failed, he doomed himself to be coughed down on any subsequent attempt. The number of speakers, though larger than under the old dispensation, is still small. But, of this small number, a large portion utter their weighty thoughts, and various and exact information, with a difficulty and clumsiness, affording a striking contrast to the full, unembarrassed, self-satisfied flow of almost any honorable gentleman, who for a week on a stretch addresses posterity* on the floor of Congress.

* The versatile General Alexander Smyth, of Virginia, — now legislator, now soldier, now commentator on the Apocalyse, — in the course of a two

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"A week," we say; and we scarcely exaggerate; for their length is one of the crying sins of our orators. A day's session of the House of Representatives, costs the country nearly five thousand dollars. What an enormity is it, that one, two, three days should be taken up even with a sensible argument, which properly treated might be compressed into half as many hours, to say nothing of the too frequent harangues, which, for the honor of the country, it would be worth twice the money to suppress. Before the Reform Bill, there were very few instances, — we believe only one or two, — of a debate in the British Parliament running into the second night. With us, they continue an indefinite time during all the early part of the session, the really important business, for which the legislature is convened, being generally pushed to the very close, and huddled up in the two or three last days and nights without debate, and very often without consideration or knowledge. Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, spoke four days in committee of the whole, on a motion to strike out an appropriation for the Portsmouth Navy Yard. Mr. Bond, of Ohio, in his speech on Retrenchment, kept possession of the morning hour appropriated to resolutions, for no less than six successive weeks. Mr. Adams held it once, if we remember right, two months; so that, at the present rate of steam navigation, a person leaving Washington after hearing the exordium, might conveniently have made two voyages to Europe, and on his second return have found the honorable member on his legs, and been in good season for his peroration.

This, we are bound to add, — and it illustrates another fact of the same class, — was not Mr. Adams' fault. No man speaks more concisely and to the point, when he can secure the privilege of being let alone. He is one of two members of the present Congress, whose arguments and expressions are so orderly and exact, that the Washington reporters say their words can be taken down and printed without compression or alteration. On the occasion just referred to, Mr. Adams was annoyed with all sorts of interruptions,

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days' speech upon nothing in Committee of the Whole, was called to order by Arthur Livermore, of New Hampshire, for irrelevancy of matter. "Mr. Chairman," said Smyth, "I am not speaking for the member from New Hampshire, but to posterity." "The gentleman," rejoined Livermore, "is in a fair way, before he finishes, to have his audience before him."

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which the ingenuity of parliamentary tactics could suggest, — the House being so little sensible, through long use, to any inconvenience from long speeches, as often to forget the unquestionable advantage of the course of hearing an argument out at once, and then answering it, over that of keeping it on hand, week after week, by embarrassing it as it proceeds; and the members, who, for the time being, have not the floor, exciting, by the interruptions of their own impatient loquacity, the loquacity of the member who is up.

There is generally a marked difference, in this respect of *long-windedness*, between members from different portions of the country, though the constant force of example tends to assimilate them. Not that, in our opinion, there is much sense in what has been so often and so knowingly said about the contrast between Southern frankness, fancifulness, and passion, and Northern reasonableness, costiveness, correctness, and frost. We think the less of this philosophy, when we remember that the orator, who now-a-days most amazes and overwhelms with his torrent of words and figures, — Mr. Prentiss, of Mississippi, — is of New England birth and rearing, and that all the animation of the Southern speakers of the last three Congresses, if they were to club their ardors together, would not equal that of a septuagenarian of the old Bay State. But though there is no want of imagination or enthusiasm in the northern latitudes, nor of logic or far-sightedness in the southern, still the members from different parts naturally bring to their meeting more of the habits of their respective constituencies, than is easily overcome by any influences of the new association to which they are introduced. Mr. Webster, Mr. Davis, Mr. Tillinghast, — these gentlemen, coming from the midst of an industrious, business-like, reality-loving community, in which the combination expressed in the saw, "Much cry, and little wool," is esteemed at once natural and undesirable, are generally terse and brief in comparison with their Southern and Western associates of like eminence. The population of the South and South-west can spare more time from action for speech, and, besides, it has taken Virginia for its model; — Virginia, which dearly loves to talk, passionately loves to talk politics. Combining the leisure with the independence of agricultural pursuits, — the oldest of the American commonwealths, — the traditionary head of the

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Southern interest, — the prescriptive head of the country, to which it gave Presidents for more than three quarters of the first forty years, — it is natural that the position of this distinguished commonwealth should at once create in its citizens an aptitude for discourse, — for political discourse, in particular, — and inspire them with the idea, that their political sayings and doings can scarcely have too great a share in the movements of the republic. The true Virginian has a grand largeness of heart ; but his very liberality, operating under a partial misconception, tends to a degree of obtrusiveness and overaction. To him, his State is the world's rudder ; the centre of this visible diurnal sphere is a point somewhere near to the door of Albemarle Court House ; the odd-looking little sentry-box on a platform, in which the taste of the House of Burgesses has thought meet to ensconce its Speaker, is the very seat on which the genius of Liberty reposes, and says,

"Here is my throne ; let kings come bow to it."

With his generous tastes, what shall the Virginia proprietor do with the time, of which, looking out on his solitary expanse of wheat and tobacco, he sees there is such great plenty on his hands ? Read, to be sure. And read what ? Doubtless politics and political history ; for what would become of the world without the United States ? and how could the United States get on without Virginia for a regulator ? and to him individually, with others, it belongs, or may belong, to utter the Virginian oracles. So he reads all his life long in this department, while he is without visiters ; and talks over and over with his family what he has read, in that plantation retirement where there is so little else to talk of ; and disputes about it with his neighbours when they meet, with discourse the more voluble for having been so long pent up ; and selects and repeats the available parts at the hustings, as soon and as long as he is a candidate for office ; and then takes his seat in Congress under a sense of responsibility which forbids silence, with an affluence of matter, such as it may be, which will not be restrained and cannot be exhausted, and with a practice in the use of the organ of speech which ensures, that, in its longest exercise, he will make a pleasure of a toil. He has no notion that anybody ought to be *delivered from the Greeks and Romans ;* no, nor from the Goths and Vandals either. All his remembrances of ancient

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and modern lore, of classical and feudal story, are subject to be brought out on a question of renewing the upholstery of the Representatives' Chamber, or paying the Sergeant-at-Arms.

So it is with excellent Virginia; and, with a large portion of the Union, Virginia is the pattern state, and its statesmen the pattern orators. But since in this, as in other cases, the homely maxim holds good, that "he that follows must go behind," that imitation of Virginia eloquence, which if exact, would not be irreproachable, is often exaggerated and ungraceful to an extreme degree. Many a Western member, raised to his present eminent station by the merit of energy and talent, without the advantage of early culture, feels bound to emulate or surpass in length his "eloquent friend from the Ancient Dominion"; and with arguments less rich, and illustrations less apt and weighty, the length of speeches, which for their length alone would be vexatious, becomes oppressive and — intolerable, we would say, were it not that the notorious experience of session after session proves too certainly that they can be borne.*

By a concise and careful speaker a great deal will be said in a little time. Demosthenes could not, for his life, have made a speech on a given subject, a quarter as long as Mr. Bynum. In the old Greek's way of weaving, the stock would not hold out. Hesiod's maxim is in such cases beautifully true; *Πλέον ἥμισυ πάντος.* A long speech may be made long by interruptions, which turn the speaker out of his self-prescribed course; but, barring this, it must owe part of its length to impertinences. And what impertinences are our Congress speeches often made up of! When the lucky member, among fifty who spring to their feet at once, catches Mr. Speaker's eye, what experienced person, from knowing the bill or resolution that has just been read from the chair, would hazard the remotest guess at the subject of the outpouring which is to follow? On one occasion we heard Mr.

* The forensic eloquence of the Federal City, though that is not our theme, of course partakes of the same character. A Western advocate, already prominent in the Legislature, had begun somewhere near to the origin of things, and the first principles of society, and was working his way down through Bracton and Coke to the case in hand, in argument before the late Chief Justice Marshall. The magnificent old gentleman was seldom weary, and never impatient; but he thought that, on this occasion, some time might be saved. "Brother H——," said he, "there are some things which a Chief Justice of the United States may be presumed to know."

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Storer, of Ohio, deliver a set biography of General Harrison. One of Herodotus' recitations at the Olympic games, oddly as it would have sounded, if pronounced before the Senate of five hundred, was not more properly an historical composition. We do not remember, — how should we? — what motion was before the House; but we remember so much as that it had no more to do with General Harrison than it had with Julius Cæsar. In such cases, it may be said, that the discourse may have connexion in itself, though it wants connexion with its text, and that, if a subject concerns the nation, there is some excuse for making an opportunity to discuss it, when no opportunity fairly occurs. But very often a member will make up a long speech of what has not only no relation to the matter in hand, but what has no interest out of his own district. His vehement utterance, and the expression of satisfaction that inspires his features, show that he feels himself to be doing something effective, while the representatives around him from other parts of the country are quite in the dark respecting the relations of what he labors with so much fervor. The truth is, that he is haranguing his constituents respecting his claim to their suffrages at the coming election; and his argument, already in type, and now delivering at the Treasury's cost, will to-morrow morning go flying all abroad on the wings of the mail, to blast the schemes of his competitor for office in distant Alabama or Illinois. This is called, in Congressional phrase, speaking *for Bunkum.** In other cases, which the presiding officer, if there is a call to order, is in the habit of licensing, under the courteous descriptions of "a wide range of debate," "using latitude of discussion," and the like, the orator, enamoured of his own voice, and tenacious of a position, which, once surrendered, he well knows he may be long in regaining, gives the freest reins to imagination, and makes

* The following account of this familiar phrase is from the "Richmond Compiler"; "A grave member of the Lower House of Congress, from the venerable State of North Carolina, and from a district which included the county of *Buncombe*, in which county he resided, whose style of speaking produced a very common effect of driving the members from the Hall, and all that, was one day addressing the House, when as usual, the coughing and sneezing commenced, and the members began leaving. He paused awhile, and assured the House that there need be no uneasiness on their part, and that for himself it mattered not how many left, for he was not speaking to the House, but to 'Bunkum.' It is now understood to mean the *constituent* body, in Congressional parlance."

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the most unsparing drafts on the treasures of reflection and memory. It is melancholy to think, how many speeches are made in both houses of Congress, which would furnish examples of this vice. Let two or three suffice. They will, at the same time, illustrate some other remarks, which we have already made, or to which we shall presently proceed. We take the following from the speech of Mr. Wise, of Virginia, of which we have given the title above.

"Mr. Wise rose to address the House on Mr. Cambreleng's motion for a select committee to investigate the defalcation of Samuel Swartwout, late Collector at New York. Several gentlemen solicited him to defer his remarks until to-morrow. Mr. Wise declined, and said;

"'Mr. Speaker, — After once losing the floor in the manner I did, by complying with such requests the other day, and by your decision yesterday, that petitions had precedence for thirty days over this motion, I feel very timid of Locofocoism in yielding it again. I see, Sir, gentlemen desire that this discussion should not proceed, at least, not yet. They are afraid that public sentiment will be forestalled. They are heartily sick of this subject already, and would gladly get rid of it altogether. For their sakes, then, I shall go on; let them be patient under the operation; if they are hungry, let them go home and get their dinner; I shall not have concluded before their return, for, by refusing me leave to proceed yesterday, they have only given me more time to provide more materials; they have only laid up for themselves wrath against the day of wrath. I feel better prepared, much better, in body and mind, than I was before; and, with this bank of documents before me, I could rain forty days and forty nights upon their sins and iniquities.

"'Sir, in my rambling remarks the other day, I *said* many things which I will *prove* now. I said the proposition of the gentleman (Mr. Cambreleng) did not go far enough. Instead of inquiring only into the manner and extent of Swartwout's defalcation, it should propose an investigation *of the official conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury, with a view to his impeachment*, if sufficient be found on which to base the articles of specification.

"'Let gentlemen understand me. I measure my terms. I speak in no spirit of bravado. I *declaim* not when I say, that if a majority of this House would do their duty without fear, favor, or affection, the Secretary of the Treasury would, before this House adjourns, be impeached. If ever a felon de-

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served the hangman's knot, the Secretary of the Treasury, Levi Woodbury, deserves impeachment. That is the proposition which I will now proceed to demonstrate.

" ' This is a bold declaration ; I know the weight of its responsibility ; it requires some exertion to prove it, and I must be permitted to go back a little, to take a review of the past from the beginning, and to gather, and group, and array all my exhibits and proofs.' " — p. 1.

Such was the comprehensive exordium of a speech on a motion for raising a committee to attend to Mr. Swartwout. The peroration was as follows ;

" Sir, ' In the piping times of peace,' the greatest service a representative can render, is to save the public money. I have faithfully endeavoured to discharge this duty ; to save the public money from wicked rulers, and to preserve the purity and virtue of both the people and their servants from the temptations of a splendid government and a wicked administration. If I have done nothing towards this end, it is not my fault. The task has been a hard one ; I have had to labor at the oar against wind and tide, against a most powerful and popular President and party, against *you*, Sir, your committees, and this House. But the blaze of glorification is espied. Thank God, the day-star dawns from on high. There is now hope of salvation ; an hour of retributive justice is coming ; Truth, though slow, is coming gradually along with her torches. I have been waiting for her long, but never without hope. I have had to carry my life itself in my hand, the harness of deer-skin, and cold steel and iron, has often galled my shoulders, an armed arsenal against the king's forces, — they are dangerous when there are such rich spoils ; but I have escaped unscathed, thank God ! though my slanderers, and persecutors, and revilers would have the world believe that my war upon corruption has not been bloodless.

" I care not for these aspersions, they pass me as the idle wind. Much less have I regarded some good, honest friends, who have assisted to ' damn me with the faint praise ' of doing, or trying to do, some good, notwithstanding my faults and indiscretion ! Sir, what other course could I pursue but that of fearless boldness, ay, apparent recklessness ? But this is egotism. I know who will defend me, who do back me. I have my reward, — the only reward I ever looked for, — at home, in the affections of my people ! Yes, Sir, my people. They are mine, because I am theirs, — in devotion, in sacrifice, in service ; in good report, in evil report ; theirs po-

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litically, personally theirs ! And all your party, and all its power, cannot separate me from my people, or shake me in their confidence. I must myself first forfeit it, before I am ever by them distrusted, or proscribed. They will pardon my infirmities, and indulge my weaknesses, provided I remain true to them and their country. May Heaven reward them and their children's children, as they reward me ! But, Sir, I had rather have been fighting for them in the Florida swamps, with blade against tomahawk, than to have been warring, as I have, upon this almost overwhelming power of corruption. Dangers beset you in every path in this war ; dangers of life and limb, dangers to character, dangers, in fact, to your own virtue. No man can oppose himself to universal corruption here, without having all his virtues tempted and tried, as in a fiery furnace. My hope is in a majority of the next House of Commons. The Empire State has declared for the People, against the President.

" That now is the issue ; Shall the people, or the President, prevail ? The contest is no longer about measures. The sub-treasury may be proved to be the best system which the wisdom of man could devise ; but, Sir, the President and his minions have dared to *force* it upon us, have arrogantly proclaimed, it shall be the law, ' notwithstanding the lamentations here or elsewhere.' The measure has been thrice rejected ; it is again presented, and, if passed, will prove that the President is too strong for the people. In this issue, I can no longer debate its policy or expediency. Another consideration is paramount. I oppose it now, because it is an executive measure. Prove it to be the best, I would have my arm chopped off, my tongue pulled out, before I will be forced to vote for it by the will of one man. I will not have ' pudding itself stuffed down my throat ' ! There was a majority of fourteen against it last winter ; now, I fear, a much smaller majority. Some have *gone over*. No wonder. The President, notwithstanding the manifestations of public sentiment, has all the odds against the people. He has one hundred thousand office-holders to do his bidding, stationed at every outpost ; spies, informers, throughout the country. He has the press. He has the public money, wherewith to pay ' the bounty,' unprotected by law, in the hands of partisans, placed where he pleases, distributed as he pleases. He has the public lands. This is the great source of patronage and power.

" Sir, how can State-rights men support this mammoth executive ? How expect a large portion of the States to be free and independent, and to stand upon their reserved rights against power consolidated in the hands of the executive of

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the Federal Government ; when every new State is raised, nurtured into very being and existence, upon executive pap and patronage ? Look at every new State on your frontier, and count their executive force in the Senate ! This is the domain corruption, which buys and secures States ; the other sources of patronage, offices and money, retain men. Men and States will render the President omnipotent ! I call on all the patriotic of this land to drop currency, banks, finance, — every minor consideration and topic, and to devote themselves wholly to the great work of resisting and reducing this dagon executive, to come up to our help, to come soon, or we will be powerless to resist. May an overruling Providence prevent the reduction of our strength to a weak minority before this very session expires ! The President has but a short time to ' fatigue us into compliance ' ; but, if the ' favorite measure ' be passed, no tongue can tell the horrible results to this nation. It will surely reëlect him to a second term ; and who will succeed him ? That is the last great question. Let me tell certain gentlemen of the South particularly, no matter what may be their hopes, and their calculations, for their man, there is one, whom I cannot call a man, who is as sure of the succession, as he surely deserves nothing but ignominy and disgrace, — that monster is Thomas H. Benton.

" *The Speaker.* Not in order.

" *Mr. Wise.* ' The man ' of Missouri, then ; and who can bear the thought ? I hold the horrible result up to the American people as the last, worst result ; the climax of horror, of the present corrupt dynasty ! When that happens, I will follow the examples of Swartwout and Price, and take passage for England." — pp. 31, 32.

And here are some gems from other parts of the same oration.

" Sir, the President, in this letter, prated about the records of the Government and the public documents, as if he had read and examined them. I doubt whether he ever examined, or read to examine, any one subject thoroughly whilst he was in office. No, Sir, I venture to guess that Amos Kendall, — ' honest Iago,' — whose official misconduct was most likely to be exposed, was the infamous author of this daring outrage ; he was a tool fit to be its author, of every word, and letter, and doctrine of it ; he was the President's thinking machine, and his writing machine, ay, and his lying machine ! Sir, if General Jackson had been elected for the third term, one great good would have come of the evil ; Amos Kendall would have been worked to death ! Poor wretch, as he rode his Rosinante down Pennsylvania Avenue, he looked like death on the

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pale horse ; he was chief overseer, chief reporter, amanuensis, scribe, accountant-general, man of all work ; nothing was well done without the aid of his diabolical genius. Since Jackson's 'retirement,' he has assumed to be obeyed himself, instead of being a slave. He has worked hard for his lever of mischief. God send the country may not suffer for his pains in obtaining the supremacy which he now holds." — p. 5.

"He [Watkins] was born and bred a gentleman ; dazzled by the tinsel glare of this metropolis of 'splendid misery and shabby splendor,' (as it was once, with equal force, truth, and beauty, described by that unequalled orator of Virginia, John Randolph,) of liberal mind and habits, too, he lavished some three thousand improvidently, thinking in his heart that he should be able to replace that sum and more, and 'make all straight,' and he was imprisoned for his imprudence for nearly four years, and made to bear a felon's brand ! Ah ! Sir, but he was a gentleman, he belonged to 'all the decency,' to the 'silk-stocking gentry' ; he was not one of your Locofoco defaulters, he was not *unfortunate* to the amount of millions, he was no robber on a large scale, he was not one too full-handed to be touched by the rude hands of the tipstaff, he was not a defaulter of the great democracy ; and, poor fellow, he suffered for being a gentleman ! By the by, Sir, that word reminds me of the fact, that it was during, or not until, the past summer, your party first discovered that your President was a gentleman ! The discovery was made first, I think, by Granny Ritchie. That venerable gentleman took me to task for finding some gentlemen in Petersburg, and, as a set-off, it seemed, boasted that President Van Buren, too, was actually a gentleman ! Very strange ! that a man whom they made President, the successor of the 'illustrious' in 1837, they did not find out to be a gentleman, until the summer of 1838 ! They must surely have been trying to make him out a Whig. For myself, I always knew he was, in the ordinary sense, a gentleman ; and it was mortifying for me to see, that the 'Enquirer,' by implication at least, had supposed until lately that the President of the United States could be other than a gentleman ; judging, I mean, from its boast of the sudden discovery; but my colleague, there, [Mr. Dromgoole,] will not, however, recognise Mr. Ritchie as a genuine Locofoco editor. [Mr. Dromgoole said, "No, no, he is a Conservative."] There is a cheering consideration connected with this disvovery, though by the administration press ; it is the brightest omen which has occurred for years, of Mr. Van Buren's downfall. Yes, Sir, that cry of 'gentleman' upon him by his friends will finish him; with the party which supports him, they might as well have

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cried 'mad dog.' It is a certain prognostic, that he is going down. From the hour that Father Ritchie made that fatal discovery, the man's doom was sealed. But, Sir, the gentleman defaulter, Watkins, as I was saying, met his fate; and now that he has been purified by the fires of the law, we may be permitted to do him justice, and to make him the instrument of retribution. I call him up; I invoke his wrongs, his sufferings, his injuries, his expiation, to rise in judgment against his persecutors, to condemn them. Where is he now? In a station where he is, no doubt, far happier than in his day of precarious and terror-haunted show, when he toiled as a poor slave, in one of the stalls of your document factories, called Departments. He is now an humble apothecary; and here I will say, for the benefit of all who would be honest, and who wish to be clean, that he keeps for sale the very best of 'palm soap' and chloride of lime, and other chemical compositions, to take off the spots of Locofocoism, and to cleanse from all corruption! I recommend to certain sub-treasury gentlemen to go and buy; but what if they be once washed white as snow, they will, like the hog, return to their wallowing in the mire." — pp. 7, 8.

And here is more from the same gentleman's "Speech on the Causes of the Loss of the Fortification Bill of the last Session, delivered in the House of Representatives, January 22, 1836."

"Sir, my distinguished friend from South Carolina (Mr. Thompson) told the gentleman from New York (Mr. Cambreleng) the other day, that 'it is the fashion of "the party" not to shrink from responsibility.' My honorable friend has convinced me, that he is a most excellent judge of men and things, but he was mistaken that time. No, Sir; General Jackson, in accordance with his high-toned independence of mind and action, assumes responsibility; but 'the party' shrinks, and skulks, and dodges, in fear and trembling. When Jupiter shakes the empyrean heights, all the gods tremble! When Jackson frowns and stamps his foot, rises in his majesty, and says, 'I take the responsibility!' all the sycophants of 'the party' quake with fear. Witness the deposite question. When the President went forth in doubtful contest against the bank, there was a 'little man,' who trembled from his hair to his heels, — [here some one said he had no hair,] — right, Sir, his head is bald; from the crown, then, of his head to the sole of his foot. His knees smote together with fright during the battle; but, the moment the victory was achieved, out sprang the Lilliputian from behind the 'Old Hero,' and strutted, hec-

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toring over the dead body of the monster monopoly. So it was, Sir, with that very three millions amendment. I have no doubt the President was independent and honest enough to have recommended it boldly; but 'the party' leaders kept the recommendation secret. And when the sum was reduced so low as to disappoint the 'Old Hero,' and to rouse his wrath to veto the bill, 'the party' were manœuvring, and dodging, and whispering, and cutting, and shuffling through the Capitol, and sending billets to change the responsibility of the failure of the '*fortification bill*' from the President to the Senate! That is the secret. Sir, when it is found that any measure will succeed and aggrandize the 'little man,' then 'the party' will take the responsibility; not before. So it was this very session, with this same Secretary of our Navy. If there had been no responsibility, no popularity to risk in recommending six millions for the increase of the Navy, the service would not now be suffering for appropriations. But, Mr. Speaker, there is a certain class of men, who, put them where you will, in any situation in life, will *piddle*, — I mean old bachelors! I never will henceforth support any man for the presidency, who will appoint a bachelor to any office of honor or profit, and especially, of responsibility. An old bachelor, Sir, is a 'withered fig tree' — he is a '*vis inertiæ*'! Old bachelors are too near akin to old maids!" — p. 31.

With such wretched babble does the gravity of an American Congress submit to be affronted. Mr. Wise has a reputation for abilities. He cannot expect much credit for them from such as know him only from reports of his oratorical exhibitions, till he has put his mind anew in training. Scarcely any thing can be worse, than the taste of all his harangues which we have seen. If he have talents, so much the worse for the effect of his style of speaking, as an example. Without the redeeming qualities of John Randolph, who was a scholar, and who, though he rambled insufferably in his argument, was terse and compact in single sentences, Mr. Wise's style is almost a caricature of the worst traits of that eccentric orator. Randolph of Roanoke was undoubtedly a person of brilliant parts, but no one can imitate him without ruin to his mind. Especially was it a dark day for American eloquence, when, because he was afflicted with a constitutional virulence of temper, abusive language, under the names of "withering sarcasm" and the like, came to be regarded as a high achievement of the art.

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"Scarcely any thing," we said, can be worse than the taste of Mr. Wise's harangues. The *ne plus ultra* of untastefulness, however, we are forbidden to account them. What bad habits of speech make Mr. Wise's orations, with abilities (so say his coadjutors), the same, and yet worse, through similar habits, Mr. Duncan's speeches become, without them. Will posterity, — unless some fate should forbid the intervening generations to come to their senses, or unless republics meantime should become a scoff and by-word through the earth, — believe that such matter as this was vented, in the nineteenth century, in a deliberative assembly of the first republic in the world? On the 10th of April of the present year, "the Bill making Appropriation for the Civil and Diplomatic Expenses of the Government for the year 1840," being under consideration, the member from Ohio delivered himself as follows;

"Sir, I delight in the very name of a log cabin. There is no name in the English vocabulary that dwells upon my lips with so much delight as log cabin. It brings fresh to my recollection scenes of youthful pleasures, which I have never since, nor ever will again enjoy. Many and oft is the time that I thought a day a month, in anxious watch for the setting sun, which was the token for the rally to the frolic of the log cabin, where I met the comrades of my youth in dance, play, and song. In the times of which I am speaking, log cabins were what the term means, — a house made of round logs, one story high, of dimensions suited to the size or number of the family who were to inhabit it, and sometimes with reference to an *increase*, a puncheon floor, a lin bark loft, and a clapboard roof. The industry of the matron and her daughters was displayed by the thick folds of linsey frocks, pantaloons, and hunting shirts, which behung its walls. Its loft was underhung with strings of dried pumpkins, and its capacity heated and lighted with a large wood fire from its capacious chimney. So much for the description. Now for the frolic. The frolic consisted in dancing, playing, and singing love-and-murder songs, eating johnny-cake and pumpkin-pies, and drinking new whiskey and brown sugar out of a gourd. Our dancing in my youthful day, and in my neighbourhood, was done to the performance of an old Irishman with one leg, with the heel of which he beat time, a fiddle with three strings, to the air of

'Barney, let the girls alone,
Barney, let the girls alone,
Barney, let the girls alone,

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And let them quiet be.
Judy, put the kettle on,
Judy, put the kettle on,
Judy, put the kettle on,
And we'll all take tea;'

for, if I recollect right, I think our fiddler played but one tune.

"But let me tell you, Sir, our girls were not to be sneezed at. They presented a form in beauty, that marked the developements of nature, when unrestrained by corsets, and the withering dissipation of fashionable and high life; and their guileless hearts looked through a countenance that demanded confidence in their innocence and unsullied virtue. But, oh! their forms! When you plied your arm to their waists, in the giddy waltz, with the twenty-five yards of warm linsey, in which they were comfortably enwrapped, you had an armful of health and firmness. These constituted my pleasures in the days of log cabins, and this is a description of log cabins, which, so far as it goes, will be recognised by those who have been round in the western country. But, Sir, the days of log cabins have passed away in the older settlements of the West, and with them, most of the log cabins; and, with the log cabins, many of the amusements common to such tenements. All the older pioneers of the West and their descendants, who have observed that kind of prudence, industry, and economy, which constitute the character of the good citizen, and entitle him to the confidence of honest men, have possessed themselves of comfortable and commodious brick and frame houses, large barns, and well improved farms, checkered with grain fields of every color, and mantled with horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, and with hard cash for a rainy day, and some to lend a friend in need."

Again;

"In relation to the conscience-keeping committee, I must say something. Of David Gwynne, I know nothing personally; I am unacquainted with him. I presume he is a clever fellow, and a respectable citizen, as all my constituents are. I take it for granted, that he is opposed to the administration and the democratic party and principles, but not the less respectable for that. But of J. C. Wright, and O. M. Spencer, I know something. I know them to be attorneys at law, of high standing. I know them, as private citizens, to be of the most respectable order; and I will take this occasion to invite all who hear me, and all who may read me, to call on J. C. Wright, and O. M. Spencer, should they have any business in the way of their profession. No two men, in the State in which they

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live, will discharge their duty with more fidelity or more ability. But I know another thing. The democracy will find themselves vetoed, if they make these gentlemen the conservatives of their political rights. The log cabin, and its wool-hat inmates, will find themselves in the *vocative*, if their political rights are thrown upon the care and protection of these gentlemen. A Persian frog could not swim in all the hard cider they ever drank. These gentlemen may have seen a log cabin in their travels; so they may have seen a plough ; but I doubt if either of them knows to which end of it a pair of horses should be hitched, or from which side of the land the furrow should be thrown.

"'These gentlemen are not Democrats. J. C. Wright will feel secretly flattered when he learns that I pronounce him a high-toned Federalist, from the first foundation of the world; and if his colleague is not of quite so blue a steep, it is because he has not been in the dye so long. Knowing, as I do, it was intended by the Federalists, that the democracy were to be gulled by this confidential, conscience-keeping committee trick, I think it was a manifestation of diplomatic stupidity, that I have never seen excelled in political manœuvring. It was cassiowary stupidity. I think it is the cassiowary bird, that rests the security of its body in the concealment of its head. The politics of this committee are too well known. If General Jackson, in his proudest and most popular days, were to have put himself in the keeping of these men, it would have blown him sky high with the democracy, far and wide as they are known. If the friends of General Harrison had constituted Uncle Jake Felter, Old Stephen Wood, and Jim Goodloe, the committee of conscience-keepers to General Harrison, the democracy would have understood something of the principles and rules of action; but, as it is, they will stand off.'

And, in the conclusion of the same speech ;

"The question now is, General Harrison, a National Bank, a splendid government, poor people, a shinplaster currency, and a privileged order, against Martin Van Buren, a sound currency, an Independent Treasury, (independent of the banks,) rigid economy, a poor government, a rich people, and equal rights. Which side do you take, Sir? and, as I cannot answer that question, I will tell you which side I take; I go for Kinderhook, and the Independent Treasury ; I go with the hard-handed industry; I go with those who depend upon their own resources for their living; the farmer and the mechanic, all of which constitute the democracy of this country, and of every other. Yes, Sir, I go with them against General Har-

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rison, a National Bank, and the modern Whig party, who are made up of

> 'Coxcombs and dandies, and loafers and nibblers;
> Shavers and blacklegs, and pedlars and scribblers;
> Bankers and brokers, and cunning buffoons;
> Thieves that steal millions, and thieves that steal spoons;
> Rascals in ruffles, and rascals in rags;
> Beggars in coaches, and beggars on nags;
> Quackers and doctors, with scalpels and squills;
> Pettifoggers and lawyers, with green bags and bills;
> Shylocks unfeeling, and dealers in stocks;
> Some dashing fine ladies, in splendid silk frocks.
> Such is the crew that for Harrison bellows,
> Always excepting some very fine fellows.'

"Do you desire to know the feelings of the western people in relation to Harrison, Jackson, Johnson, and their relative services? I can tell you. If a western man is asked his opinion of General Harrison, his answer will be, nineteen times out of twenty, that General Harrison is a very good man, and was a tolerable general. He has done his country some service, and that perhaps he discharged his official duties, in the last war, about as well as could be expected, all circumstances considered. This, Sir, I repeat, will be the general answer. In some instances, a higher opinion will be expressed, — in some instances, a lower one. My colleagues on this floor, Whigs and Democrats, will bear me out in what I say; but when you hear Jackson and Johnson named, they are named in praise and song, in affection and pride. Yes, Sir, in praise and song. Were you ever at a corn-shucking in the West? If you were, you never left it without hearing the wool-hat and linsey-hunting-shirt boys sing —

> 'Mary Rogers are a case,
> And so are Sally Thompson,
> General Jackson are a horse,
> And so are Colonel Johnson.'

"I see, Sir, in some of the western Whig papers, the name 'Harrison Democrats.' This is a new name under the sun. Well, Sir, as the world grows older, names will increase. New names will run *pari passu* with the world's age, and with the cunning and trickery of Federalism. 'Harrison Democrats' in the West, are like the Frenchman's flea; when you attempt to put your finger on them, they are not there. 'Harrison Democrats' may be put in the list with mermaids, sea-serpents, and unicorns. They are names in fancy, fiction, and poetry. Sir, if you can catch a 'Harrison Democrat,' take him to Ohio, and exhibit him. I would advise you, also, to accompany the exhibition with a Whig buffoon, that can jump

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'Jim Crow' to the music of the psaltery, tambourine, and the sackbut. You will clear more hard cash in one day, than you will by playing Congressman a month.

"In conclusion, let me say, the Democracy understand and appreciate their principles," &c.

And this was not only said, but printed, and not only printed, but praised. The commentary of the "Globe" newspaper, when it published the speech, would be amusing for its bold, yet not unwary, selection of phrase, were it not deplorable as a sign of the times.

"There is a fund of accurate and interesting information in the speech now published; and every topic touched is handled in a strong and masterly way. It is not a speech accommodated to rhetoricians' rules, but it will be found well suited to the strong-minded, true-hearted, well-affected husbandmen of the West. This speech shows that its author understands the character of his countrymen well. Whoever reads this speech of Mr. Duncan carefully, will, in observing the various modes in which he would operate on those whom he addresses, learn the traits which distinguish the people of the West. Strong sense, strong feeling, generous sentiments, make up the stamina; broad humor, careless gayety, and hardy dispositions, with some little coarseness, characterize their manners. Mr. Duncan's speech will be found in keeping with all these characteristics."

"Save me from my friends," — from such friends, at least, — may the traduced people of the West well say. The same "Globe" pronounces of this speech, "It will be found, we think, the most *taking* of all Mr. Duncan's speeches in Congress." Perhaps so; and yet a question might arise between it and the oration of January 9th, of this year, "on the Subject of the New Jersey Election for Members of the Twenty-sixth Congress." Let the reader judge.

"As the floods rush from the mountains of Ethiopia, to the overflowing of the Nile, and to the enriching of the valleys and plains of Egypt, so has been the torrent of public sentiment and approbation through the medium of the ballot box, in favor of the leading measures of this administration, and the glorious and hallowed cause of democracy and the people. Sir, with the revolutionary blood and patriotism of our ancestors, backed by the thundering voice of approbation by millions of freemen, are the democracy to be awed or intimidated by the threats or

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frowns of a conquered and dying party, in their last spasmodic agonies? No, Sir; its effect is but to produce the sneer of contempt and derision. As it is common here for gentlemen Whigs to give their young friends (new Whig members) advice, so I will volunteer some advice to my young friends; and that is, to treat with contempt and scorn all the blasting, blowing, blustering, and bullying displays they may see here or elsewhere; though the fiercest Federal lions be turned into this hall, and though their 'shaggy tails be erect, and their jaws bedaubed with human blood,' they really have no terrors; the people have extracted their teeth; they can do nothing but shake their manes, and growl; approach them, lay your hand upon them, they are tame; they are like Daniel's lions; the hand of God rested on them; the hand of the freemen of this country rest upon the Federal lions and bullies of this day. When I first entered this hall, I entered it with some trepidation, — such is the Whig system of puffing, by the lean, lank dogs, in the character of penniless letter-writers, who beset this Capitol by throngs, and whose hungry yelp is never out of your hearing. I expected to see men gigantic in body and intellect; such is the effect puffing has upon the mind of objects at a distance; but, when I came to mingle with them, I found few of them whose bodily altitude exceeded that of my own; and when I surveyed them, I saw nothing in them, mentally or physically, to be feared; I found them just such creatures as surrounded me at home, every day; I saw nothing here at which a well corn-and-pork-fed western Buckeye would not douse his wool hat, throw off his linsey hunting-shirt, roll up his sleeves, and 'walk right into.'

* * * * *

"Virtue, patriotism, and good order are all to be sacrificed at the shrine of Federal ambition in this great contest. The man has been selected, around whose standard Antimasonry, Abolitionism, National Republicanism, Federalism, and every other *ism* under the sun except Democraticism, may rally. Open fight, secret ambuscade, fair play and foul play, and every other mode of warfare known to the nations of the earth, civilized and savage, is to be adopted and used in this war. All missiles and weapons, common and uncommon, broadswords, narrow swords, long swords, short swords, straight swords, and crooked swords, are to be used in fighting under this ring-streaked and speckled banner. Falsehood, fraud, and corruption will be in market for the highest bidder. Every venal Federal sheet will teem with foul slander, base detraction, and unblushing falsehood, and the tool of faction who can lie most, will receive the highest price for his occupation. Yes, Sir, the

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zeal and Christian patriotism which were exhibited on the plains of Palestine, in defence of the Holy Land, were nothing to compare to the zeal which will be displayed in the conduct of this war upon the simple institutions of freedom. The untiring efforts of the monk Peter to rally the Christian nations in defence of the holy cause will sink into insignificance, when compared with the efforts which will be used by the Federal demagogues to rally the mercenary factions to this war against the common cause of democracy. But, to use a common Dutch maxim, it will be all '*Nix cume rous*,' or it will be applicable to a more classic maxim, '*Montes parturiunt, et ridiculus nascitur mus*.'

"Yes, Sir, a convention of the contending factions of this Union, opposed to the cause and principles of democracy and equal rights, has been held at Harrisburg; and the farmer of Tippecanoe has been nominated for the presidency! And the result of that convention will be about as it was in 1836, when, for the purposes of sectional division, General Harrison, Judge White, and Daniel Webster, were put upon the track. But they were all distanced; so it will be in 1840. Old Tecumseh and Kinderhook will distance Tippecanoe and the man of the Old Dominion, the first heat. If I were capable of giving General Harrison and his friends advice, it would be to just put their entrance money in their pockets, and leave the field; and if they have forfeitures up, let them go; that will be the saving game.

"But, Sir, perhaps these productions may be considered impious, for I see, in the reported proceeding, that the Rev. Mr. Sprecker pronounced a benediction upon the convention. Now I am going to animadvert a little upon that benediction, and let no man impugn my motives, or attach irreverence to me; for, if I have one feeling of grateful recollection for a reverend father and pious mother, both of whom now inhabit the narrow house, it is the recollection of the religious and pious precepts and principles which they taught me in sincere piety from my youth to manhood; and, although shamefully loose in their practice, yet, when I forget them, or fail in filial gratitude to those who taught them, may God forget me. If there is one book on earth that I reverence, it is the sacred word from which I am about to recite a few passages from recollection. If there is any one of the great causes which operate more than another to the perpetuity of our government, the stability of our religious and civil institutions, the peace of man here and a heavenly and glorious immortality hereafter, I believe it to be the glorious cause of Christianity. The Rev. Mr. Sprecker may be a righteous man,—I hope he is; and according to the weight and authority here given to '*primâ facie* evidence,' I am bound

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to believe so, for he presents that evidence in his title; and we are told in holy writ, that 'the prayers of the righteous avail much.' But, if I do not much mistake the import or meaning of that biblical maxim, it is of importance to the success of even the prayers of the righteous man, that the object of his prayer should be worthy of Divine approbation. Holy writ furnishes us with many consoling evidences of the powerful and miraculous effects of prayer, when made at the throne of Divine mercy; evidences which show not only the duty and importance of prayer, but also the power, mercy, and goodness of Him, at whose throne every knee is bound to bend.

"The Almighty heard the prayer of Abraham, and healed Abimelech, his wife, and his maid-servants, of the barrenness with which he himself had cursed them, in consequence of Sarah, Abraham's wife. The Jews under Moses complained. The anger of the Almighty was kindled, and he sent consuming fire into every part of their camp. Moses prayed for them, he was heard, and the hand of Divine vengeance was stopped, and the fire quenched. The Jews were visited with fiery serpents, on account of their sins. The serpents bit many of them, and they died. The people came to Moses and confessed their sins, and asked him to pray for them that the Almighty would take away the serpents. Moses prayed for them; his prayer was heard, — and the Almighty directed him to prepare a serpent of brass, resembling in appearance the fiery serpents, and to lift it upon a pole. He did so; and, if any man thereafter was bitten by a serpent, he looked upon the provided remedy and lived.

"While Moses was in the mount, receiving the tables of the law, the people, with the assistance of Aaron, prepared a golden calf. When Moses returned, he found them engaged in idolatry; he threw down the tables. The anger of the Almighty was kindled, and burned against Aaron and the people; Moses fell down and prayed for Aaron and the people for forty days and forty nights; and such was the effect of his prayers, that, instead of the Almighty blotting out their names from under heaven, as he threatened, he hearkened unto Moses and spared them.

"Again; the Shunamite's son fell sick and died. The afflicted and pious mother laid him in the prophet Elisha's bed, in a little room which she had prepared for him; she went for the prophet. He sent his servant, who laid Elisha's rod upon the face of the child, and he awoke not. But when the prophet shut the door and prayed, and lay upon the child, he sneezed seven times, opened his eyes, and he delivered the child alive to his mother.

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"In the days of the prophet Baal, there was a drought for three years and six months. The fountains were dried, and the rivers were drank up, and famine and desolation dwelt upon the land. Elijah went up to the top of Carmel, and prayed for rain. A little cloud instantly arose out of the sea, like a man's hand, and soon the heaven was black with clouds, and there was a great rain.

"Job prayed for his friends, and such was the effect, that the Almighty turned his captivity, and blessed his latter end more than his beginning.

"When Hezekiah prayed in his sickness, and turned his face to the wall and wept, the Almighty heard his prayer, and added fifteen years to his life.

"Here, Sir, we have evidence of the highest character of the omnipotent effects of prayer. But it must be remembered, that the prayers here presented were not only the prayers of righteous persons, but the objects prayed for were worthy of and met Divine approbation. It is not only necessary, that those who would be heard in prayer and answered, should not regard iniquity in their hearts, but the subjects of their benediction should be in favor with the Almighty, and their objects and pursuits in conformity with the cause of justice, right, and his Divine will. Was such the case with the Harrisburg convention? Sir, the men that they are endeavouring to place in office, and the principles they are endeavouring to establish, are at war with the spirit of our Constitution, human liberty, the duration of our free institutions, and the principles which we have undoubted reason to believe are in favor with Him who sways and controls the destinies of nations, from the fact, that he led the patriots of the Revolution to battle and to victory. He withheld 'the battle from the strong and the race from the swift.' The light of His wisdom, and the strength of His power, have since defended our institutions from the hand of violence from abroad, and the corruption of factionists at home. Then, Sir, I undertake to predict that the prayer of the Rev. Mr. Sprecker, however righteous he may be, will fall to the ground unanswered, — the objects of the convention being unfavorable to the Divine will and his favored people.

"But, Sir, there are some other difficulties that present themselves to the success of the assembled factions and the election of the nominee of the Harrisburg convention. Is it supposed, that Mr. Clay will quietly submit to the indignity offered him, and the neglect with which he has been treated? No, Sir; disappointed ambition is not so easily calmed. He has been a distinguished leader of a great party for many years. He has worn a life nearly out in its cause; and, although I

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think he knew too much of the character of the American Democracy to believe, for a moment, that he ever could be President of these United States, still it was his pride to live at the head of his party, and it was his hope, it would be his glory, to die at the head of his party. Of this hope, the only reward for his long and toilsome services, his party have deprived him. Now that he is worn down, he is turned upon the commons to shift for himself, as the Romans used to turn their worn-out slaves upon an island in the Tiber. Think you, Sir, he will bear this treatment with impunity? No, Sir; prudence may at first induce him to bear the neglect and ingratitude with apparent forbearance. He may smother his wrath for a time, but, Sir, he will rave like the disappointed political lunatic; he will growl like the hungry hyena; he will bellow like the hunted buffalo; he will roar like the lanced lion; he will do more; he will disband his troops; his sentinels scattered over the Union, who have watched with fidelity on the towers, ready to do any thing at his bidding, will throw down their arms, and take their banners from the 'outer wall,' and will deny obedience to their new commander. Murmurs, seditions, and tumults will be heard throughout the camp among his troops. We have already heard some whimpering, and seen some evidence of disaffection here. I hold in my hand a paper which contains a Whig dialogue, that speaks the voice of thousands. It is short, and I will read it;

"'Good morning, Sir.'
"'Good morning to you, Sir.'
"'Have you heard from the Harrisburg Convention?'
"'No.'
"'General Harrison is nominated.'
"'You don't say so.'
"'Yes I do!'
"'Oh!!'

"Another:

"'Good morning, Sir.'
"'Good morning, Sir.'
"'Well, the Harrisburg Convention have shot their granny.'
"'No, they hav'n't, — I wish they had.'

"Yes, Sir, disappointment, confusion, and dismay, brood in the hearts, dwell upon the tongues, and perch upon the countenances of the Clay ranks, attempt to conceal it as they may.

"But to the New Jersey election. But, before I go into that investigation, permit me to say a word in relation to party and party feelings, and their effects. No government, since the civil organization of society, or the establishment of political institutions, has ever been without parties"

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Which last proposition, the eloquent member, having satisfactorily disposed of General Harrison's prospect, and particularly of Mr. Sprecker's prayer, takes a new start, and goes on to illustrate.

Story-telling is a favorite and freely indulged form of illustration; and, this being so, what a consumption of time it threatens, little needs be told. The following is part of a speech, reported in the "National Intelligencer." In the copy in our hands, the orator's name happens to be defaced, and we do not care to take the trouble to turn to a file to ascertain it. It is no matter.

"The conduct of the late and present administrations in respect to Watkins, and the host of defaulters who have subsequently disgraced the country, reminds me of an occurrence in the far West. I will tell the story, but conceal the names of the parties. Pity shields them from presentation to public scorn. An old man who was perpetually extolling his own virtues, and decrying those of other people, and who was above all 'concealment,' according to his repeated avowals, was passing, on his way home, after running down the noblest buck in the forest, by a little cornfield of a neighbour, remotely situated from the dwelling-house. His son and his dogs were along, much fatigued by the recent chase. The old man discovered in the field, a single hog, — a runt, — engaged in breaking down the stalks and eating the corn. He immediately swore 'by the Eternal,' that he never could witness such a sight without feeling the strongest indignation against the guilty brute, and he instantly ordered his son to set the dogs on, declaring at the moment, that, if they tore him to pieces, it would be a good thing, inasmuch as by such means the neighbourhood might get clear of a bad breed of hogs. The boy obeyed, and the dogs reluctantly engaged in the less noble work, and, being the more furious and savage in consequence of fatigue, mangled the animal until his life was in danger. The youth, not wholly destitute of compassion even towards a hog, at length seized and threw him over the fence, and called off the dogs. The old man said it was useless to go round the fence to stop the holes, as he was certain the lesson would effectually teach the hog never to enter there again. So they went on home without repairing the fence, taking care, however, to pass by the owner of the field, to let him know how kind and neighbourly they had been in turning the hog out. Not long afterwards, the old man, his son, and the dogs, were going by the same field, and in it, instead of one, they discovered a

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large gang of hogs, of all sizes, variously engaged. Some were breaking down the stalks, and cracking the corn with voracious appetites; some, apparently surfeited, were moping at the heels of those stimulated by hunger; and a goodly number had husks and fodder in their mouths; some frisking, and others deliberately marching to the panels of the fence, there to make themselves pleasant beds with the 'spoils.' As the old man saw what was going on at a distance, he said to his son, 'Now, my boy, our dogs shall have sport.' Indeed, the prospect of a general uproar, some fighting, and the commingglement of shouting, yelping, and squalling, in a neighbour's cornfield, was a scene by no means disagreeable to the old man's taste. He, therefore, mounted the fence with alacrity, intending to post himself and witness the feats of his son and the dogs, while 'sitting on a rail.' But he no sooner straddled the rider, than his aspect suddenly changed. He turned to his son, climbing up behind him, and said, 'Why, these are *my* hogs!' The boy gazed in silence a moment, and then with an arch look replied, 'As I live, 't is true! but I reckon, though, I must dog them a little.' The old man took a 'sober second thought,' and, after a minute's gaze, he said, 'Perhaps, my son, it would have been better for the owner of the corn, if we had stopped the holes the other day. We broke down a good deal of corn, and did mischief in getting out a single runt with dogs, and we shall not leave a stalk standing, if we serve all my gang in that way. I know, too, your mammy will not like it; for I have often heard her say that she could not bear to make souse out of hog's ears that had been torn by dogs. I will, therefore, take the dogs off, and leave you to tole or drive the hogs out as peaceably as you can.' The boy ventured to ask, 'What will the owner of the corn think, if he finds out, that we do not treat *our* hogs like those of other people?' The old man put his forefinger upon his lip, gave his son a significant look, and departed with the dogs in silence. But, unfortunately for his reputation, he had not more than got out of sight of the field, when he met the owner on his way to it. Their conversation was very brief, as the old man said he was in a hurry. His son was found in the field, toling and coaxing the hogs to a gap. The circumstances were so plain, that the owner of the corn ever after told the story I have related, and no one doubted its truth."

We have given specimens of the style of oratory of Mr. Duncan, and of Mr. Wise. That of Mr. Legaré, of South Carolina, the title of one of whose speeches is also placed at the head of these remarks, has entirely different characteris-

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tics. His speeches invariably afford favorable specimens of the best manner to be observed in the halls of the American Congress. We have nothing now to say of his plans, opinions, and reasonings, which, in our judgment, are not always sound. But his information is always affluent; his address is always dignified and gentleman-like; ample illustrations, supplied by the observations of genius, the reading of diligent years, the experience of life, office, and society, are ready at his command. His fluency is extraordinary; but not more so than his taste is cultivated. The all-knowing ex-President excepted, he is probably the best scholar whose voice has been lately heard in either house of Congress. A few such examples, (alas, that his is withdrawn!) could not fail to have some effect in recommending a better manner. The sculptors of the West detect their deficiencies while they discover their genius, and they betake themselves to Thorwaldsen and Greenough, to learn how to work up the good material within them. The great art of speech does not come by inspiration, any more than the manipulations of the statuary. *Le borgne est roi parmi les aveugles;* but when a man gets the sight of one eye, if he is wise, he will desire that of two.

But *revenons à nos moutons.* That elegance of classical allusion, which, introduced without pretension, and capable of insinuating an argument in the most cogent form, sometimes charms so much in the works of orators like Mr. Legaré, is not sure of being favorably received by one class of our legislators, while, by another, it is occasionally ventured on without success. An accomplished member having not long ago concluded his speech with an apt line from a Latin poet, a political opponent from the banks of the Mohawk, who followed him in the debate, began his with reciting a short sentence in low Dutch, to the great entertainment and conviction at once of those of his inclining, — they being persuaded, of course, that it was as suitable for an accomplished statesman to be versed in the latter literature as in the former. On the other hand, this kind of embellishment is sometimes rashly affected, as when, kindled by the sentimental excitement of eulogy, an honorable member from Georgia is represented, in the report of his recent speech, to have extolled the late Mr. Crawford as follows;

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"This is a name, Sir, which I delight to honor. I revere the memory of that transcendently great man, — great in mind and in integrity. '*Magnum vir et venerabile nomen.*' I thank the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Thompson) for the deserved tribute which he was pleased to bestow upon Mr. Crawford. It is even true, as he said, that, take him for all in all, he has had no superior since Washington died."

Bad Latin, of course, even if it be not quite like this specimen, is much worse than none; and good Latin may very well be spared, though the culture which acquaintance with good Latin gives, is a thing well worth having, for those who undertake to move the mind. But to ask for good, wholesome English, is no unfair demand; and it is a thing not always to be had for the asking, in those upper regions of sway. Different members have their individual sins in this respect, and we shall not undertake to compile a list of *errata* for their harangues. On the other hand, some vicious phrases are epidemic at Washington. We do not know, for instance, that such a barbarism as "*on* yesterday" has any other than Congressional currency. The vile Scotticism of *will* for *shall*, scattered over the debates, as, "I hope I *will* not be considered out of order," must often puzzle a foreign reader, like the unwittingly suicidal Frenchman's, "I *will* drown, and nobody *shall* help me;" it does not, however, belong particularly to the Congressional, but to the Southern and Western idiom.

Egotism in debate is another fault which we might take occasion to animadvert upon. Examples of it occur in the extracts given above. Some of our principal statesmen are faulty in this respect. Canning set them a fascinating and mischievous example when he said, "I called an empire into existence in America." "I am doing," "I did," "I shall do," or "I might, could, would, or should do," through all the tenses, simple and compound, of the potential mood, make a very sorry figure in Mr. Calhoun's speeches. Nor in this matter, we grieve to say, is Mr. Webster altogether without reproach, though his taste, like his genius, is generally excellent. "*Solitary* and *alone*, I set this ball in motion," said Mr. Benton, so full of the triumphant sentiment, that nothing short of a pleonasm would content his self-complacency. The most solemn form of egotism, however, is, when the orator spends the House's time and the peo-

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ple's money in doing what he circumspectly calls *defining his position*. This defining of one's position, we take to be originally a Virginian fancy. We read of it often in the "Richmond Enquirer," as the amount of one or another member's unanswerable speech of a day or two in the legislature of that ancient commonwealth. There is another way in which the speakers contrive to treat one another to "large discourse, looking before and after," on their own affairs; — it is by complaining that they have been misrepresented and injured by some audacious minion, — paragraphist, or reporter, — of the "Intelligencer," "Madisonian," or "Globe" newspaper; — and this move, for as modest as it seems (since speech on such occasions is only by permission), is really one of the most effective that can be made, so difficult is it for the House to refuse a request for an opportunity of self-vindication, or to shut the mouth which once has got liberty of opening itself for that purpose.

But we pass to a vice, from which not only the credit, but in all respects the interests, of the country, suffer far more seriously, than from all those yet mentioned put together. There is often, it must be said, shocking ill-temper and ill-manners in the Congressional debates. Generally the highest men keep themselves within bounds in this respect; though certainly such a scene as the following was far from agreeable to the by-standers.

"At the conclusion of his remarks, in which he made some severe and pointed allusions to the recent speech and course of Mr. Calhoun, the latter arose, and, addressing the Chair, said, that whether from a personal or other motive, he knew not, but the Senator from Kentucky had misrepresented his speech of the other day, from beginning to end.

"Mr. Clay intimated that he had been speaking to the Senate, and not to Mr. Calhoun. Whereon the latter said, that at his leisure he would reply to the Senator in the way he thought him deserving, and when said Senator might take such remarks either personally or otherwise, just as he might think best."

So go matters, or so they are liable to go, in that august body, the Senate of the United States. Shift the scene to the Lower House, on the 21st day of February, 1839, and we have the following edifying proceedings.

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"Mr. Menifee, of Kentucky, said that Mr. Duncan was a cowardly braggadocio, who wished to have the reputation of being what is called 'a man of honor,' and responsible in the meaning of the 'code of the duellist'; and on this point he spoke with the most perfect directness. He emphatically declared, that, throughout the whole progress of this business, from first to last, that member had not taken a step, which did not show his entire destitution of the principles that govern men of honor and courage, and that are recognised by the code to which he had avowed himself amenable for his conduct. Among the proofs he dwelt upon was the fact, that the publication was not made, until the law giving him license had been passed.

"Mr. Duncan here called out, that the matter was ready two weeks before.

"*Mr. Menifee.* 'Ready two weeks before,' but never saw the light until the anti-duelling bill was passed. The member, said he, stands estopped, disfranchised, self-immolated, with respect to any claim from being numbered among men of honor. He had given a signal example of seeking redress, by coolly and deliberately sitting down to concoct, by way of answer, a tissue of abuse which might be more violent than any thing that had been urged against him.

"Mr. Duncan rose and interrupted Mr. Menifee, for which he was instantly called to order by the Speaker and by several members.

"Mr. Menifee cried out, 'Let him go on,' and sat down.

"Mr. Duncan expressed his disregard for what had fallen from such a puppy!

"He was instantly called to order, and Mr. Menifee proceeded. He said there was a time when such language, coming from the member from Ohio, would have produced a sensation in his bosom; but now, any thing that man could utter, must fall stingless, pointless, harmless, ever since he allowed the insult, which he acknowledged he had received, to pass unredressed; his name, if it ever was on the scroll of honor, was for ever expunged from it.

"The discussion was continued by Messrs. Prentiss, Glascock, Thompson, and Gray."

Sometimes there is a mingling of "lively" with "severe," as in the following passage;

"Mr. Halstead was answered by Mr. Bynum, of North Carolina, who is reported to have been very rude, personal, and viperous in his attack upon Mr. Halstead. We have

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heard that he intimated the threat of punishment, or personal violence might be resorted to, to curb the opponents of those in power, &c. &c. This attack, we learn, was entirely gratuitous and uncalled for, and made without the shadow of an excuse. But, if Mr. Bynum violated all propriety, what must we say of his compeer and coadjutor, Mr. Boon, who followed this matter up the next day? There is only a brief notice of Mr. Boon's speech taken by the reporters, but this notice sufficiently shows us its character.

"Mr. Boon commented with very great severity on Mr. Halstead's speech of yesterday, and avowed his intention 'to skin' that gentleman. He said his speech evinced the advantage of being high-born and college-bred; characterized its strain of language as low and vulgar, and every way unworthy of a representative; referred to Mr. Halstead's consumption of pens and paper as being ten times greater than his own; he remarked upon his dress as being that of a dandy, &c.; and concluded by comparing the whole speech to butter churned without a cover, which splashed on all around," &c.

We have not selected these accounts as the worst which are to be had, but have taken such as happened to be conveniently at hand. Worse than these, if possible, we suppose, might have been found, because, according to our recollection, these wordy conflicts did not lead, as some others have done, to personal violence. The sad truth is, that what a number of people are ready to praise, that some public men are always too ready to do; and that Congressional orators should so often be foul-mouthed becomes less surprising, when one observes, that, by many of the ten thousand tongues of the newspaper press, they are sure of being applauded for it to the echo. To read some of these criticisms, it might be supposed that the last grace of eloquence was to be deemed wanting, unless the speaker had succeeded in making himself exceedingly offensive. Here is a sample of these precious panegyrics. "Withering sarcasm," with its synonyms, it will be remarked, figures in them as the crowning charm.

"The most withering speech was that made by Mr. Menifee, of Kentucky, who seems in that line to be one of the first men in the House. In sarcasm, wit, brilliancy, scorn, and burning eloquence, he soars far beyond any other member of the present House. He almost approaches the sublimity, beau-

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ty, and bitterness of John Randolph, without being exactly of his school."

* * * * *

"In the House to-day, Mr. Brown, from Tennessee, gave the Federal apologists for the New Jersey fraud a thorough settling."

* * * * *

"We publish, to-day, the powerful remarks of Mr. Wise upon the Seminole war. His indignation, like the fire from the cloud, blasts wherever it falls."

* * * * *

"The excoriation, that Mr. Graves administered the other day to Mr. Pickens, of South Carolina, was dreadful. Several of the Whig members were desirous of trying their hands on Pickens, but, after the speech of Mr. Graves, nothing remained for them to do. The Kentuckian left no *pickins* for anybody that might come after him."

* * * * *

"Mr. Proffit illustrated this fact by reference to the speech of Duncan, which has been published in the 'Globe,' and recommended to the public, in an article which contains a gross libel on the character of the Western people. Mr. Proffit lashed Duncan with severity, and then passed on to Mr. Hopkins, to whom he also administered a deserved flagellation for his course. It was the best speech I ever heard from him, and greatly interested and entertained the House and a crowded audience."

* * * * *

"We have a rich treat for our readers. We allude to the speech of Mr. Stanly, of North Carolina, in reply to Mr. Duncan, one half of which we publish to-day, reserving the rest for Monday. We do not remember ever to have witnessed a more skilful or amusing operation, than that performed by the North Carolinian upon the Cincinnati vaporer. He has pricked the bag of wind, and the poor bag is in a collapsed condition.

"Henceforth the whole world will know, (what many knew a long time ago,) that there is no more danger in pulling Dr. Duncan's nose, than in shaking a pump-handle. The annexed comments of the Cincinnati Whig, upon Mr. Stanly's speech, are altogether in point;

"'Such withering sarcasm, such torturing ridicule, such triumphant argument, and such annihilating denunciation, has scarcely been paralleled in the history of Congressional debates. The poor Doctor is literally flayed alive. Had he

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been on the rack of a thousand Inquisitions, his torture could not have been more severe.'"

* * * * *

"The tremendous singeing which Peyton gave Glascock and the party yesterday, has been the grand topic of conversation to-day. That Peyton is an eloquent, able, fearless debater, I can promise you. He sits by the side of Wise. They are Cassius-like fellows both. They, and Bell, and the other White men in the House, will torment the party not a little this session, you may depend. They have the talents and the ability to do it."

* * * * *

"Mr. Peyton continued for some minutes, with great ability, to cut deep and serve up the party, to its great consternation and uneasiness.

"Mr. Glascock, who seems to be like an old lady I have heard of, 'all talk and no cider,' now stepped forward to vindicate the party and the 'venerable President.' He said he had no respect for any one who could utter such sentiments as the gentleman from Tennessee. He went on for some minutes, praising up the party and the 'venerable President,' etc. etc., and then sat down.

"Mr. Peyton now rose, and in a strain of indignant rebuke, keen, cutting, withering eloquence, which has been surpassed upon that floor by no man this session, at least, hurled back in his teeth the insolent declaration of Glascock."

Here, again, is the sort of exhibition to which our Conscript Fathers are provoked by their admirers. The subject of the following well-meant, but rather equivocal eulogy, in one of the most distinguished gazettes of the country, is the same Mr. Wise. After a description of some of his personal attributes and habits, the delighted writer goes on;

"It has been well remarked by another describer of the gentleman, 'that it is fortunate that he is so abstemious, for, were it otherwise, he would be exceedingly dangerous.' As a debater, he is quick and full of energy, — fire is not more scorching than he is. Woe to the man who falls under his displeasure. He is ferocious in his anger; but no one sees it in his manner, save a nice observer. All other emotions are expressed in his gestures and his looks; but his personal rage has no interpreter, save in the firm set mouth, the unflinching and withering eye, and the compact and sullen rigidity of every muscle. His voice is then low, his tone deliberate, and

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he is as composed as if he was asking his servant for a drink of water."

Mr. McDuffie, of South Carolina, was the prime favorite of this class of writers, till his retirement from Congress withdrew him somewhat from their admiration. They have no want of opportunity, however, still to "air their vocabulary." The following compliments, which might be multiplied indefinitely, — though they do not relate to speakers on the floor of Congress, show what, in high newspaper quarters, is the *beau idéal* of a politician's genius. They are all from journals of the widest circulation. The first we take up declares, that "Mr. Southard made one of the most able and eloquent political harangues that ever was listened to, and Ogden Hoffman spoke like a young Demosthenes." But commendation like this is too undiscriminating and tame. The others are in the accepted vein.

"Mr. Preston spoke for nearly two hours, with an eloquence and an effect that made the lapse of time unheeded. He described the process by which this young and late vigorous republic had been reduced to a state of premature decrepitude, and, after laying bare the nefarious practices and motives of the Administration, he applied the lash to the villany he had so eloquently exposed, with honest and manly indignation. I will not do this finished orator the injustice of attempting a sketch of his speech. It was alike distinguished for rich imagery, powerful argument, and withering sarcasm. The picture he drew of the pensioned press of the Executive was so faithful, as to make one almost shudder with abhorrence."

* * * * *

"Mr. Tallmadge's speech is pronounced one of great eloquence and power. He entered upon the various subjects which he discussed, *con amore*, and afforded a rich treat to his hearers. Sometimes he played with the lighter weapons of humor, — sometimes showers of arrows flew from his satirical quiver, — and sometimes he excoriated the Administration with a scorching invective, — and sometimes, again, he grasped and wielded with great power the thunder-bolts of deserved and indignant denunciation. It was a glorious meeting."

* * * * *

"Mr. Prentice holds one of the most racy pens in America, and wonderfully versatile in its powers. His wit is like the *jet d'eau*, — his taste as exquisite as the tints of the rainbow, — his strength like the Ohio rolling down the Louisville rapids.

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At will, his irony gashes like a cleaver, or pierces like a lancet. He can dash in the skull of an opponent with a gnarled maul, or draw his heart's blood with as polished a rapier as ever gleamed. His political jokes snap upon their prey like a steel trap, and, occasionally, their coarse teeth tear rather than cut the flesh ; while his argumentative essays are like the unsheathed broadsword."

* * * * *

"Colonel Chambers's speech was full of important matter, and enlivened by frequent sallies of real humor. He gave a narrative of the battle of the Thames, which he should be induced to write out for publication. Handling Colonel Johnson as one for whom recent circumstances had given him a feeling allied to contempt, yet as one of whom, on account of his past services, he would wish to speak nothing harsh, he took hold of the great 'petticoat hero,' Senator Allen, and held him up before the searching fire of his sarcasm and rebuke, turning him first this way and then that, basting him now here and now there, as the blisters were seen to rise upon his epidermis, very much as a log-cabin housewife manages a roasting goose, till nearly every one present must have had a feeling of pity for the Ajax of Locofocracy in Ohio."

Such praise, no doubt, — so flattering is the assurance of power and victory, — offers, even to sober men, some temptation to adopt a tone of discussion unbecoming their sense and character. But there are other causes to create and aggravate the evil. In our opinion, one of these is the predominance, in the national councils, of members of the legal profession ; not that the habits of that profession lead directly to ferocity, or to so much as want of courtesy, in debate, but that they tend to place its members, in some respects, in a false position in legislative halls, leading them there to approach each other in an attitude, from which unnecessary mutual provocations are likely to arise. It is a lawyer's business to take his side, and make his preparation to maintain it, out of court ; and when he comes to plead, victory ought to be his object. The true idea of speech-making in a deliberative assembly, on the other hand, is *deliberation*, *consultation*, the *consideration* of a subject by thoughtful and fair minds in order to a comparison of all opinions, a proper modification and conciliation of each, and selection of the best. The robed gentlemen take the proper point of departure, when from the moment of the making up of an issue, Counsellor A, begins to urge the *pro*, and Counsellor B, to

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insist upon the *contra*. But legislators do not take the proper point of departure, when, with the first proposal of a measure, they begin to wrangle, — to refuse advice, persuasion, influence, — to repel and exasperate one another. It belongs to the legislator, we repeat it, to go through the wary scrutiny of the judge in choosing his position, before he allows himself to maintain it with a pledged champion's feelings. He should not trust himself to the impulses of the advocate, till first, by attention to the merits of both sides, he has advised himself what, under the present aspects of the case, deserves his support; a rule which, possibly, professional advocates may find some peculiar difficulty in observing.

We do not forget that the relations of party are such, that the main bearings of some proposed measure are not on ostensible, but on ulterior objects; that these bearings may be perceived at once; and that then fidelity to the principles of that party, which has been deliberately embraced, admits no alternative but that of resolute support or opposition. But this is by no means the case with all questions which arise; nor, as to many others, does it justify that uncompromising spirit of urgency or resistance, to the minutest point of altercation, which the habit of the courts too much encourages. Persuaded, that in the legislative assemblies there would be an improvement in respect to wise counsels, as well as to personal dignity and mutual decorum, if there were less of the forensic antagonism, and more of a readiness to consider, to consult, to adjust, to lead the people to accommodate rather than conquer each other, we cannot be put off from this view by any such assertion as that it is not the view of practical men. On the contrary, we aver, that, on those great public emergencies which make statesmen pause from their passions, and think for country and posterity, discussion, not dispute, reasonable recommendation and inquiry, not violence, become the order of the day, and victory is no longer the first aim, but right, truth, the public safety and honor. So it was in the Congress, that talked over the matter, and concluded that these thirteen Colonies were, "and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States." So it was in the legislature of Virginia, when Patrick Henry was telling them, "We must fight." So it was in the late Convention of Massachusetts for revising the Constitution, when

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a measure of the first moment, rejected by an overwhelming majority, was, after an exposition of its merits as mild as it was masterly, adopted three days after by a majority almost as large.*

One further remark on this last point, of ill-nature in debate, and we dismiss the subject for the present. It was the one mistake of Washington's public life, that he carried the seat of government into the woods. Legislators are not so situated as to counsel best for the public good, when their isolated position at once affords unrestrained facility for mutual bargains and cabals, and excludes that opportunity of immediate resort to ample sources of information on the various matters of public concern, which is only to be found in the great collected masses of population. But it is not to our present purpose to dilate on these, or other like sinister influences on the national legislation, which may first occur to the reflecting mind, as incident to the seat of government being fixed in that great, out-of-the-way, uncomfortable, country town, — half palace, half sty, — the Federal City. What we have at present to do with, is, the effect upon the manners and temper of our legislators, likely to be produced by the unnatural social position into which they are thrown while exercising their office. To one of the most expensive and, at the same time, most comfortless places on the face of the earth, destitute of the usual attractions of city life to compensate for the absence from home, and of the best means of education for children, — to such a place it cannot be expected that the member of Congress will generally be accompanied by his family. Accordingly, he lives there, — such is the general course of things, — like a college undergraduate, or a soldier in his barracks. Other people, when fretted by the vexations of the out-of-door world, go home at the close of the day to the smiles of a wife, the caresses of children, the society of friends whose different subjects of interest suspend their own, — at any rate, to some different scene, which turns aside the current of their uneasy thoughts ; and by the morrow they are tranquil and good-natured again. Not so the envied servant of his country in her sovereign halls of council. From the goadings of his seat in the House, he retires to the noisy loneliness of the public ordinary, or the monotonous sociability of the mess-table, and

* See *Journal of Debates and Proceedings*, &c., pp. 126, 148.

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thence to his solitary chamber, — there, among his cold hillocks of constituents' letters and folded documents, to brood over the annoyances of the day, and get lashed, in dismal vigils, into a bitterer mood for to-morrow's onset. Or, if he goes abroad into society, the society of Washington, composed, to the degree that it is, of foreign and domestic *diplomates*, — of office-holders, office-seekers, and office-givers of every degree, — of many who are conscious, as much as himself, to his vexation and its cause, and who, by one or another kind of suggestion, are likely to irritate his discontent, — may be expected to dismiss him to his couch with a very different kind of preparation for repose, from that of "temperate *vapors* bland." And, in short, if he is wise man enough to swallow his bile before he gets another opportunity to vent it on the floor of Congress, he deserves all the more credit for his wisdom, so little is he aided in such self-conquest by any restorative influence of surrounding circumstances.

We know very well, that such revolutions do not go backward, and that the thing is past wishing for; otherwise we could not but devoutly wish that the Congress of the United States were brought together, year by year, in some place more under the influences of American civilization, than Washington, with the small number of its permanent population (however refined the character of this), can ever be. In the centres of civilization, different classes of men feel their responsibility to one another, and a mutually adjusted public opinion restricts the movements and habits of all. It is very bad for any class of men, — all the worse, if it be a distinguished and powerful class, — to become a "law unto themselves"; and a city of government *employés* is as much, or more, an infelicitous anomaly, as would be one of artists or of schoolmasters. Those *conventionalisms* of society, which often may be settled one way or another about equally well, but on the observance of which, — as settled for the time and place, — so much of decorum, and of mutual respect and good understanding depends, are well established and understood in the great communities of men; and every one, who for a time becomes connected with one of those communities, perceives what in that respect he is to consider as his rule. Where, on the other hand, a society is not permanent, but constituted anew from year to year, and that, too, from diverse and discordant elements, — where the starred

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and mustachioed representative of some foreign royalty, the plump, saturnine Wall-Street burgher, the nimble-witted and disputatious Yankee attorney, and the back-woods forester, on his first emergence into the glittering world, all muscle, heartiness, and slang, — are brought to play the amiable together in court saloons, it cannot be supposed that any *common law* of manners will be defined for them, further than in its most general principles ; nor can it be matter of much surprise, if, from the painful awkwardness arising from this unacquaintance with each other's habits and tastes, and sense of the *quod honestum decorumque sit*, and from the want of a common standard of the place to conform to, relief should be sought in falling back in some degree into a state of nature, in respect to the forms of intercourse. It may be too reasonably feared, that, in respect to matters of grace and ceremony, a certain degree of *abandon* will come to be indulged ; and certain it is, in fact, that, as one but looks from the galleries of the high places of council, one is amazed to see and hear the postures, the tones, — the manners, in short, — of the same men, whom he may have just now met brilliant ornaments of the select society of the Atlantic cities. Forty miles off, all this would be different ; and, had they been thrown into the polished and intellectual society of Baltimore, or Richmond, or Philadelphia, the insensible, but powerful, influence of those circles, of which they would then have formed but a part, might indirectly have proved as much more beneficial to the country than what they now experience, as it would have directly been more satisfactory and agreeable to themselves. The courtesies of private intercourse, better enforced and appreciated in that different situation, would have tended to keep up a self-respect hostile to any thing like savageness in the conflicts of public life. The concourse of families, which the attractions of such a society would invite, would surround the civil fathers with the natural guardians of their amiable feelings ; it would be scarcely possible, that the whole of the ill blood brought out of a hot debate, should be carried to the encounter of the next day, when there had been an evening of the soothing enjoyment of friendly and elegant social intercourse between. Many a man, immensely intent on nursing his rage, would find, by the morning, that it had been "oozing off" in spite of him, like Bob Acres's courage.

Of course, we do not expect, that the Federal legislation,

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in our day, will be conducted in any more suitable place than Washington. But we cannot think it fanciful to estimate highly the influence of humanizing social influences on the minds of those to whom is trusted the vast responsibility of that administration. At any rate, whatever causes may have more or less agency in producing the angry and provoking style of debate, so deplorably common in the national legislature, it is impossible that any considerate patriot should regard the existence of that practice without concern. It is not merely, that discourtesy, coarseness, violence in our high places affects the national character, but that, — unless one will choose to say, that men furiously incensed against each other are as capable of sober, cool, and wise joint action, are as likely to conspire for the common good, as if they were in a placid humor, — it cannot fail materially to affect the course of legislation. In the session of Congress which has begun before these pages will see the light, recent causes of exasperation will have lost something of their force. We cannot but hope to see it conducting the business of the country in a manner more suitable to the dignity of the agents than heretofore, and proportionably, as we view the matter, more auspicious to the public welfare.

ART. VII. — 1. *Second Annual Report of the Board of Education, together with the Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 79.

2. *Third Annual Report of the Board of Education, together with the Third Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 102.

3. *Abstract of the Massachusetts School Returns for* 1838–9. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 341.

4. *Abstract of the Massachusetts School Returns for* 1839–40. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 482.

5. *Lecture on Education.* By HORACE MANN, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 12mo. pp. 62.

THE recent movements in Massachusetts in regard to education are of such importance, and of so general interest,

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not only to the inhabitants of that State, but to all who are making or meditating similar movements elsewhere, that, though we have recently gone somewhat fully into the subject,* we shall venture again to invite to it the attention of our readers.

The Board of Education of Massachusetts was created by an act of the State legislature, passed April 20th, 1837. That measure had its origin, undoubtedly, in the conviction that the common schools, so far from keeping pace with the advance of general intelligence, were in a low state, and yearly growing worse, rather than better.

The common schools of Massachusetts had deservedly been the pride and boast of its citizens. The first acts of the Pilgrims recognised the paramount importance of education. By the act of 1647, every town of fifty families was bound to maintain a school in which the children should be taught to read and write; and every town of one hundred families was obliged to maintain a grammar school, the master whereof should be able to qualify youth for the University.

The spirit of these laws is purely republican. They protect the children and apprentices in their right to be instructed, against the indifference or cupidity of masters and parents, but leave it to the majority of the inhabitants of each town to provide the means in their own way. Further, what was quite as essential to the accomplishment of the design of the law, they provide a standard below which the qualifications of a teacher in the grammar schools shall not fall; he shall "be able to instruct youth so far as they shall be fitted for the University"; thus bringing within the reach of all the children of every town of one hundred families, the means of preparing themselves for the highest course of instruction then or now existing in the country. Had this law continued in operation, youth from nearly every town in the Commonwealth would now be enjoying this privilege.

The whole policy of the Puritan colonists in this matter fills us with admiration. In their simplicity they conceived, and in their poverty executed, a scheme, which had proved too high for the intellect, and too vast for the power, of every previous potentate or people; the hitherto unimagined idea of

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLVII. pp. 273 *et seq.*

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universal education. Fugitives from the persecution of the old world, and hemmed in between the waves of a stormy sea and the savages of a boundless wilderness, so little were they subdued by the hardness of their lot, that they regarded ignorance and vice as the only evils, and religious instruction and intellectual discipline as the effectual remedies. Where shall their descendants look for a higher example ?

The act of 1789, up to which time these laws continued in operation, was a wide departure from the principle of the original law ; it substitutes six months for the constant instruction provided for towns of fifty families, and requires a grammar teacher of determinate qualifications for towns of two hundred families, instead of the similar requisition from all towns of half that number of inhabitants. Still, however, far as it falls short of that noble democratic idea of the Pilgrims, of providing the best instruction possible for all, it would, if in force at the present day, render instruction of the highest kind accessible to the children of more than two thirds of the towns of the Commonwealth.

By an act of February, 1824, — facetiously called, in the Index to the Massachusetts Laws, "an act *providing for* the public schools," — the law of 1789 was repealed ; and for all towns of less than five thousand inhabitants, instead of a master of "good morals, well instructed in the Latin, Greek, and English languages," a teacher or teachers must be provided, "well qualified to instruct youth in orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, and geography, and good behaviour."

This act was the severest blow the common-school system ever received ; not only because it shut from the poor children of all but a few towns the path which had always lain open to the highest order of education, but because it took away a fixed standard for the qualifications of teachers, and substituted no other in its stead. The common schools had hitherto been as nursing mothers to the gifted children of the indigent, who were often raised through them to better opportunities, and thence to the highest stations in society. This high duty they utterly abandoned. The poor boy of talent, who, under the former system, would have received the elements of the best education, gratuitously, but of right, in his native town, was thenceforward obliged to find or beg his way to a private school or academy, or to remain for ever without a learned

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education. The candidate for the office of teacher, being released from the necessity of an acquaintance with the learned languages, which in most cases implied a certain degree of cultivation and refinement, and amenable to no rule measuring the amount of the mere elements, which only were required, was too often found to be lamentably deficient even in them.

The effects of lowering the standard of instruction in the public schools became, to attentive observers, every year more apparent. For a time the better qualified teachers continued in the service; but they were gradually supplanted, in many places, by persons who from their inferior qualifications were willing to do the work for a lower compensation.

In 1830, the American Institute of Instruction was formed, and had its first annual meeting in Boston. At this were present teachers and other persons interested in the cause of popular education, to the number of several hundreds, from every part of New England, and from several of the Middle, Southern, and Western States. The Institute has continued to hold its meetings, usually for the space of five days, annually, up to the present time. Those who have attended the meetings, and become acquainted with the members, have become, of course, more or less familiar with the condition of the schools in various parts of the country, and particularly in Massachusetts, within which State, until the last year, the meetings have always been held.

In January, 1836, after frequent deliberation upon the subject, the Directors of the Institute addressed a memorial to the legislature, praying for the appointment of a Superintendant of Common Schools. The memorial was favorably received, and a most respectable committee reported in favor of its object; but no action immediately followed. In January, 1837, a memorial was presented by the same body, praying that provision might be made for the better training of the teachers of the schools in the Commonwealth, and briefly stating their views as to the necessity of such provision. The act of the next April created the Board of Education, and designated its duties.

The common schools were probably, at this time, at their lowest point of degradation. From what we can learn, they had, in most parts of the Commonwealth, been gradually declining, until, by this act, the Legislature showed its disposition to interpose, and arrest their downward progress.

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It will not be without advantage to trace some of the several steps that have been taken by the legislature, and to inquire what has been done by their organ, the Board of Education, with a view to satisfy ourselves as to what benefits have followed, or are likely to follow, to the Common Schools.

The Board of Education, at its first meeting, held June 29th, 1837, appointed as their Secretary, Mr. Horace Mann, at that time President of the Senate of Massachusetts. Mr. Mann had been known to the individuals of the Board as a member of one or the other branch of the General Court for the ten previous years, and especially as the principal mover and agent in the erection of the State Lunatic Hospital, — a work of a kind second to no other in benevolence, and employing and requiring powers as much nobler than those of mere intellect, as these are superior to the physical powers, which are the objects of mere savage admiration.

He had, moreover, been recently engaged in the revision of the Laws of the Commonwealth, and had been charged, together with another, with the supervision of the Revised Code; and was therefore as familiar, probably, as any other individual, with the laws, institutions, and interests of the State. Immediately on his appointment, he gave up a lucrative practice in his profession, and, abandoning all other pursuits, devoted all his energies, time, and thoughts, to the work he had entered upon.

The duty of preparing an Abstract of the School Returns was assigned to the Secretary, and the volumes containing the Returns for the last three years have, with no small labor, been prepared by him.

On the 1st of February, 1838, the Board made their first Annual Report, accompanied by the first Annual Report of the Secretary. At the suggestion of the Board, and in answer to an Address to the People of the Commonwealth, adopted by them at their first meeting, conventions of the friends of education had been held, between August and November, in every county in the State except Suffolk. All these conventions the Secretary met and addressed. They were attended by persons of the highest character for intelligence and moral worth, from nearly every town in their respective counties.

Mr. Mann's address on these occasions has recently been published, under the title of a "Lecture on Education."

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We have no doubt that most of those who have read it or who heard it, must have regarded it as one of the best upon the subject that was ever given. It is simple, direct, and intelligible, and by its overflowing abundance of apt illustrations, admirably well suited to the miscellaneous audiences to whom it was addressed.

Preparation had been made for the effective action of the convention, by a series of questions drawn up by the Secretary, and widely circulated throughout the Commonwealth, relating to the constitution and action of the school committees, the qualifications and mode of employment of teachers, the interest exhibited by parents, the uniformity and mode of providing school books, the use of apparatus, the character of the school houses, and the length of time the schools were kept. The subjects suggested by these questions, and others affecting the schools, were discussed, and the statements thus publicly made are regarded by the Secretary as to be entirely relied upon. Written answers were also received from the school committees of nearly half the towns in the State; and thus was begun the process of collecting and disseminating information upon the condition of the schools.

The four subjects which principally occupy the Secretary's First Report, are 1. The situation, construction, condition, and number of school houses; 2. The manner in which the school committees discharge their duties; 3. The interest felt by the community in the education of *all* its children; 4. The competency of teachers.

With the exception of the first, Mr. Mann goes fully into an examination of each of these topics. He begins by showing, with great force and earnestness, the extreme importance of the duties of the school committee-men, in the selection and examination of teachers; in the selection and enforcing a uniformity of school books; the regulation and discipline and regular visitation of the schools; and the duty of requiring regular attendance. In regard to two of these points, we quote a few of his statements and remarks.

"A portion of the children, dependent wholly upon the common schools, absent themselves from the winter school either permanently or occasionally, equal to a permanent absence of about one third of their whole number; and a portion absent themselves from the summer schools, either permanently or oc-

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casionally, equal to a permanent absence of considerably more than two fifths of their whole number."—pp. 37, 38.

"This State employs, annually, in the common schools, more than three thousand teachers, at an expense of more than *four hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars*, raised by direct taxation. But they have not one-thousandth part of the supervision which watches the same number of persons, having the care of cattle, or spindles, or of the retail of shop goods. Who would retain his reputation, not for prudence, but for sanity, if he employed men on his farm, or in his factory, or clerks in his counting-room, month after month, without oversight and even without inquiry? In regard to what other service are we so indifferent, where the remuneration swells to such an aggregate?

"Being deeply impressed with these views, I inserted in the circular an interrogatory upon this subject; and, wherever I have been, I have made constant inquiries whether this duty of visitation were performed, agreeably to law. I have heard from nearly all the towns in the state. The result is, that not in more than fifty or sixty towns, out of the three hundred and five, has there been any pretence of a compliance with the law; and in regard to some of these towns, after a reference to the requisitions of the statute, the allegation of a compliance has been withdrawn, as having been made in ignorance of the extent of its provisions."—pp. 40, 41.

Such was the state of the schools, in these particulars, as far as could be learnt by the Secretary, in 1837.

This melancholy condition of things is justly referred, not to any particular faithlessness on the part of the committees, but to the indifference of the community, and to the manifestly unjust expectation, that men should perform a severe and unwelcome duty entirely without remuneration. As a remedy, he suggests to the Board the expediency of recommending to the General Court the providing some compensation to school-committees for duties so laborious, and yet so necessary.

The next topic discussed in this Report is the apathy of the people themselves towards the common schools. It is shown that this apathy is exhibited by two widely diverse portions of the community, those who from ignorance, or culpable remissness, fail in their duties towards their own children, and those, who, feeling the paternal interest in its natural strength, but seeing the low condition of the public schools, will not, or dare not, run the risk of the contamination or neglect

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their children might suffer there, and provide for them what they consider better and safer places of instruction in private schools or academies. With searching and cogent argument the Secretary points out the mighty importance to all classes in the community, to the rich as well as to the poor, to the refined and intelligent as well as to the ignorant and debased, of sustaining and elevating the common schools. He appeals to the spirit of patriotism and the humane sympathies of the most intelligent, to rescue from degradation institutions which must be the only moral safety of the great majority of the people.

Addressing those who object to sending their children to the public schools, from fear of the profanity and vulgar and mischievous habits that may prevail there, he says ;

" Would such objectors bestow that guardian care, that parental watchfulness, upon the common schools, which an institution so wide and deep-reaching in its influences, demands of all intelligent men, might not these repellent causes be mainly abolished ? Reforms ought to be originated and carried forward by the intelligent portion of society ; by those who can see most links in the chain of causes and effects ; and that intelligence is false to its high trusts, which stands aloof from the labor of enlightening the ignorant and ameliorating the condition of the unfortunate. And what a vision must rise before the minds of all men, endued with the least glimmer of foresight, in the reflection, that, after a few swift years, those children, whose welfare they now discard, and whose associations they deprecate, will constitute more than *five sixths* of the whole body of that community, of which their own children will be only a feeble minority, vulnerable at every point, and utterly incapable of finding a hiding-place for any earthly treasure, where the witness, the juror, and the voter cannot reach and annihilate it ! " — pp. 54, 55.

He shows how much better it would be, for all, that all should be educated together, up to the point for which it is advisable that public provision for education should be made ; and that, beyond that, there would still be ample field for the exercise of private munificence, in providing higher seminaries, — academies and universities, — for those whose paths should lie through their halls.

Another subject discussed in this Report, is the competency of teachers ; and in handling it the Secretary gives, in a few words, an intimation of what the art of teaching is, and

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what the teachers should be; states facts, showing the deplorable want of well-qualified teachers, especially in reference to moral instruction; and refers to the miserably meagre compensation they receive. While on this topic, he adverts to the importance of having children instructed in their social and civil duties, and to the alarming fact, that intellectual instruction is now the only part of the work of education that is attempted in most of the schools. Some suggestions in reference to school apparatus, county associations for the improvement of the schools, town associations, improvement in the school registers, and a change in the time of choosing the committees, close the Report.

The brief First Report of the Board itself to the Legislature treats, among other subjects, of school houses, recommending greater attention to their construction; of committees; of the education of teachers; of district school libraries, in regard to which no specific course is recommended; of a journal for the promotion of education in the common schools; and of the evils of the multiplicity of school books.

In March following, appeared the Secretary's valuable Report on school houses. By personal observation, or by correspondence, he had ascertained the size, construction, and condition, more or less exactly, of eighteen hundred school houses, in every part of the Commonwealth. He was therefore, in this respect, somewhat fully prepared for his work. He moreover availed himself of the abundant materials on the subject contained in the volumes of Lectures of the American Institute. On the subjects of ventilation and warming, size, desks, seats, and other furniture, site of school houses, light, windows, yards or play-grounds, and the duty of teachers in relation to school houses, he goes minutely into most of the circumstances, essential to a pleasant, healthful, convenient, and economical house, detailing, in a popular manner, those philosophical and chemical principles that are important to be known, and enforcing his own opinions by letters from some of the most eminent and experienced men in the country.

In the structure of school houses, too much attention cannot be given to ventilation, a matter in its principles simple enough, yet almost universally misunderstood, and practically neglected. The important points in the construction of a ventilator are, that it should, when it is possible, be a warm

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tube, and that it should open near the floor of the apartment to be ventilated. When always warm, which it is when it runs up by the side of a smoke-flue in operation, it constantly acts, from the mechanical tendency of a column of heated air to rise ; whereas, if cold, it acts only when air is, by some other means, forced into the room to be ventilated, as is the case when the room is warmed by air introduced from abroad. In every other case, a cold ventilator is not to be relied on. The second essential point is, that its opening should be near the floor of the apartment ; for it then carries off the stratum of air in contact with the floor, which is always the coldest and usually the foulest in the room. An attention to these principles would add much to the comfort and healthfulness, not only of school rooms, but of lecture rooms, churches, and halls of legislation, all of which are usually ill ventilated.

Most of the rooms used for schools were originally constructed with an open fire-place. This is one of the best ventilators that can he contrived. It occupies the best possible position for a ventilator. Opening on a level with the floor, it takes off more of the poisoned air, and much less heated air, than it would in any other situation, since the heated air naturally rises to the upper parts of the room, while the foul air first sinks, and then gradually diffuses itself equally through the whole air with which it is in communication. The fire-place, unfortunately, is commonly stopped up, and its place supplied by a close stove. If, however, the fireplace be so contrived as to be open or shut at pleasure, and the stove-pipe, as is usually the case, be made to enter the flue somewhere above, the only condition necessary to bring this ventilator into action, is secured. The upper part of the flue will be warmed, and the air will draw regularly and steadiy upwards through the open fire-place below. The only thing else necessary to carry on the process of ventilation with security against smoke, and with economy of heat, is to have a stream of the external air brought into the room directly beneath, or, better still, directly through the stove.

The best possible material for a furnace or stove, especially if it must be within the room, is the soap-stone, of which we have such abundant quarries in various parts of New England.

This report contains some striking remarks on the impor-

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tance of that too often chance-determined matter, the position of school houses. When their place can be chosen, they should be built on a gentle declivity, looking towards the south-west, whence come the pleasantest winds of summer, and protected on the north and east by a hill covered with wood. Trees should be on either side, at some little distance, and an ample green space in front, for play, with here and there an oak, an elm, or a beech. If, at such a distance from the play-ground as not to be injured or interfered with, there could be also a shrubbery and a plot for flowers, it would be a delightful appendage. It is to be hoped that those who are selecting sites for schools will be influenced by such considerations; and let them remember, that they are acting for the happiness of future generations. If there is one site in a town better than any other for the school, it ought by all means to be secured by the public, or by private generosity; and what could be a more fitting field for the exercise of a munificent public spirit, than furnishing these pleasant places for the sports and lessons of the young?

In this Report appears the first suggestion of what has since been called the *Union School System*. Of this we are to say something by and by.

In April, of the year 1838, additional acts concerning the schools were passed by the legislature; the most important of which are those providing for annual reports of school committees, for their remuneration, and for the union of school districts. In December of that year, the Secretary submitted his Second Annual Report, which, with the Second Annual Report of the Board of Education, was laid before the Senate in January, 1839.

The Report of the Board is principally occupied with the subject of the education of teachers, and the plan for the establishment of Normal Schools. The regulations adopted for their management require, that candidates for admission shall be sixteen years old, if females, and seventeen, if males, and shall pursue a course of study to occupy three years, or, in case individuals should not be able to remain so long, a shorter one for a single year. The two objects of the course are, first, a thorough and systematic acquaintance with the branches required by statute to be taught in the public schools, together with the principles of Christian ethics and piety common to

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all Christians ; and secondly, the arts of instruction and government, to be illustrated by the management of a Model School.

An act of the legislature, passed in April, 1837, had authorized each of the school districts to expend thirty dollars for the first, and ten for each succeeding year, in providing a District Library. For the purpose of aiding the districts in the formation of these libraries, which the Board consider as the complement and necessary result of the school system, (for of what avail are the keys of knowledge if there are no accessible stores to unlock ?) the Board projected the preparation of two series of books, of fifty volumes each, to consist of such works as they should unanimously approve, the one series for the use of children, and the other for persons of maturer age. For this purpose, having made proposals to various publishing houses, they engaged one to undertake the work, at the lowest rate at which it could be done. The districts are left to exercise their own option as to the purchase of these volumes, the whole action of the Board extending only to providing, that many of the most approved scientific and literary works in the language shall be printed in a suitable style, and afforded at a price which shall put them within the reach of the districts, and to securing in their preparation the aid of distinguished writers.

Two Normal Schools went into operation in the course of the year ; one at Lexington, for females, the other for pupils of both sexes, at Barre ; the former in July, under the superintendance of a gentleman long and favorably known as a teacher at Nantucket ; the latter in September, under the charge of a gentleman who had been for many years a professor, of high reputation, in Bowdoin College.

The Second Report of the Secretary begins with an account of his own official action. After despatching his preparatory circulars to the school committees of each town in the Commonwealth, he visited the fourteen counties, and at convenient places met such of the friends of education as chose to assemble. These conventions were generally well attended, and the time was employed in discussions on the processes of teaching, statements as to the condition of the schools, and the delivery of one or more addresses.

At Nantucket, with which place his circuit commenced, he met most encouraging evidence of the activity of a generous spirit of improvement. Within the year, the town had added

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to the single set of public schools previously existing, schools for little children, who before had not been provided for, and a school of a higher character for the benefit of all the children who should entitle themselves to admission by passing a satisfactory examination in the studies of the secondary schools. This perfect and systematized organization offers a noble example for many of the other large towns in the State. Mr. Mann takes occasion, from the institution of these schools for the younger pupils, to introduce his views upon their proper management.

"The small children are provided for, by themselves. This is an advantage which can hardly be overestimated. For the purpose of preserving order and silence in schools, composed of scholars of all ages, it becomes almost necessary to practise a rigor of restraint and a severity of discipline upon the small children, which is always injurious, and often cruel. The youngest scholars are, constitutionally, most active. Their proportion of brain and nervous system, compared with the whole body, is much the greatest. Their restlessness does not proceed from volition, but from the involuntary impulses of nature. They vibrate at the slightest touch; and they can no more help a responsive impulse at every sight and sound, than they can help seeing and hearing with open eyes and ears. What aggravates the difficulty is, that they have nothing to do. At a time, when nature designs they shall be more active than at any other period of life, a stagnation of all the powers of mind and body is enforced. But while the heart beats and the blood flows, the signs of life cannot be wholly suppressed; and, therefore, the steady working of nature's laws is sure to furnish the teacher with occasions for discipline. If it would be intolerably irksome for any of the large scholars to sit still for half a day, in a constrained posture, with hands unoccupied, and eyes looking straight into vacancy, how much more intolerable is it for the small ones? Hence the importance of having such a gradation of schools, in every place where it is practicable, as has been lately established in Nantucket. Another invaluable advantage of having three grades of schools is, that while it diminishes, at least one half, the number of classes in each school, it increases the number in each class, and thus allows the teacher to devote more time to the recitations and to the oral instruction of his enlarged classes."—*Second Report*, pp. 29, 30.

Another encouraging fact, observed at the same place, was the conversion of a flourishing private school into a public one,

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to the manifest advantage of all persons concerned. Many improvements had also been made here and in other places, in the school houses, particularly in providing for ventilation. Various other evidences of increased interest are noticed, but none more gratifying than the appointment, at the county conventions, of committees to provide lectures on the subject of education in the several towns of the respective counties. Lectures, on this plan, were delivered, in seven of the counties.

After some observations on the value and "form" of the registers required to be kept in the public schools, and on the union of school districts, the Secretary proceeds to the more immediately important matters of intelligent reading, and the modes adopted in teaching to spell. These he had made prominent objects of inquiry throughout his circuit, and for that purpose had prepared written questions, as to the length of time for which the children continued in the spelling classes, and the degree of intelligence they showed in reading.

In answer to the first, he found that the usual and almost invariable practice was, for children to be drilled in spelling, daily, during the whole time of their continuing in school, and yet that the art was imperfectly acquired. The answers to the other questions were scarcely more satisfactory.

"The result [of his inquiries] is, that more than eleven-twelfths of all the children in the reading classes in our schools do not understand the meaning of the words they read; that they do not master the sense of the reading lessons, and that the ideas and feelings intended by the author to be conveyed to, and excited in, the reader's mind, still rest in the author's intention, never having yet reached the place of their destination." — *Second Report*, p. 56.

He enters upon a full discussion of the nature of written and spoken language, and the various modes commonly used at the public schools in learning to read and write it, together with an examination of the books in common use, as the instruments employed for the attainment of that end. He shows satisfactorily, and with his characteristic wealth of illustration, that both methods and books are, to a deplorable degree, unphilosophical and bad, and inconsistent with what should be an object constantly kept in view, the forming "an invincible habit of never using the organs of speech by themselves, and as an apparatus, detached from, and independent of, the

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mind." The fatal error seems to be the general impression that rhetorical reading is something mechanical, which can be acquired independently of any exercise of the understanding, and in disregard of the elemental truth that a "fitting style of delivery is born of intelligence and feeling only, and can have no other parentage." Of the excellent views and principles of this disquisition, we have no doubt that we shall see abundant fruit, in the processes of teaching to be hereafter matured and adopted in the schools of this Commonwealth.

In December, 1839, the "Third Annual Reports of the Board of Education, and of their Secretary," and "The Abstract of the Massachusetts School Returns, for 1838–9," prepared by the Secretary, were presented, and made their appearance early in 1840.

The action of the Board and the Secretary, in regard to the county conventions, had been similar to that of former years. Conventions were held in each county, at all of which the Secretary was present, and delivered addresses on the necessity of education, as a preparation for personal and social duties; and discussions on important subjects took place. The influence of these conventions cannot but be most auspicious to the cause of common-school instruction. The feeling upon the subject is everywhere, with few exceptions, right; and it seems only necessary for the friends of education in the various parts of the Commonwealth to be excited to think and examine for themselves, by being brought together to compare their views, and by being informed what is doing and has been done in some parts, and may be done in all, for the principle of voluntary action to operate with the most desirable effects.

The Report of the Board is occupied with an account of the principle on which the Normal Schools have gone into operation, and of the views held and the measures taken in the preparation of books for the Common-School Library.

The Report of the Secretary states some facts which indicate improvement and increasing interest in what relates to the schools, especially the construction of school houses. Still, he insists, much more extensive reforms are necessary.

"Every other class of edifices, whether public or private, has felt the hand of reform. Churches, court houses, even jails and prisons, are rebuilt, or remodelled, great regard being paid, in most cases to ornament, and in all cases to health, to personal convenience and accommodation. But the school house, which leads directly towards the church, or rather may

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be considered as its vestibule, and which furnishes to the vast majority of our children, the only public means they will ever enjoy for qualifying themselves to profit by its counsels, its promises, its warnings, its consolations ; — the school house, which leads directly from the court house, from the jail, and from the prison, and is, for the mass of our children, the great preventive and safeguard against being called or forced into them, as litigants or as criminals ; — this class of buildings, all over the State, stands in afflicting contrast with all the others." — *Third Report*, pp. 39, 40.

The benevolence of some gentlemen, in the counties of Hampshire and Hampden, had been interested in the condition of the children of the transient population along the line of the Western railroad, so effectively, that a very large majority of these children, of a suitable age, were brought to enjoy the benefits of common-school education. Another fact of the same character is also stated, most honorable to the agents. The law of April, 1837, providing "for the better instruction of youth employed in manufacturing establishments," required that no child under the age of fifteen years should be employed in any such establishment, who had not attended regularly a day school for at least three out of the twelve months next preceding any year in which he should be employed. This law is best observed in the largest manufacturing places.

"In one case (at Waltham), a corporation, besides paying its proportion of taxes for the support of the public schools in the town, has gratuitously erected three school houses, — the last in 1837, a neat, handsome, modern, stone building, two stories in height, — and maintained schools therein, at a charge, in the whole, upon the corporate funds, of a *principal* sum of more than seven thousand dollars. It would be improper for me here to be more particular than to say, that these generous acts have been done by the '*Boston Manufacturing Company*' ; though all will regret, that the identity of the individual members, who have performed these praiseworthy deeds, should be lost in the generality of the corporate name." — *Third Report*, p. 42.

The Secretary insists upon the vital importance of executing this wise law in accordance with its spirit, and earnestly points out the moral and social dangers of ignorance in this class of the population. He then, having premised some statements, tending to show the very small number and trifling character of the books to be found in most private houses out

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of the large towns, goes into a searching inquiry as to the means of instruction, in the form of libraries, public and private, and lectures, enjoyed by the people of the Commonwealth. For this purpose he had addressed to the school committees, and other intelligent persons in every town, a number of questions tending to elicit information as to the numbers, value, and character of books in the public libraries, and the number of persons who have access to them, and as to the lyceums and other associations for popular lectures and the number of persons attending them. He received answers from all but sixteen towns, having an aggregate population of about twenty-one thousand. The total number of social libraries, in the other towns, was found to be 299, containing 180,028 volumes, estimated to be worth $191,538·00, and accessible by 25,705 persons in their own right. In addition to which there are from 10 to 15 *town* libraries, to which all the citizens of the town have a right of access, and which contain 3000 or 4000 volumes ; and about 50 district-school libraries, containing about 10,000 volumes.

Supposing each share-holder of the social libraries to represent four persons, there will be a fraction over 100,000 persons who have access to these libraries, leaving a population of more than 600,000 that have no such right of access. Taking in the libraries of the colleges and other academic institutions, the whole number of volumes in all the public libraries, of all kinds, in the State, is about 300,000, to which little more than one-seventh part of the population have access. One hundred of the towns heard from have neither a town, social, nor district-school library. Well may the Secretary say, in view of this vast want, "For the poor man and the laboring man, the art of printing seems hardly yet to have been discovered."

The discussion of the character of the materials of which the social and town libraries are usually composed, and of their adaptation to the minds of the young, to supply their intellectual and moral wants, and to prepare them for the duties of social and public life, forms a dark and melancholy chapter ; while the eloquent and vigorous tone in which the portentous deficiencies are pointed out, kindles a hope, — almost gives an assurance, — that it will not be allowed to continue. A small portion of the volumes, that fill the shelves of these libraries, are what, a few years since, were regarded as the standard histories, books that have enjoyed a higher estima-

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tion than at present; books filled with the stories of the rise and fall of thrones, and the battles between the kings of the Old World. And this is the most valuable portion. A much more considerable part consists of the merest trash, the novels and romances by which we have been so inundated within a few years. What kind of preparation is the reading of these, to young persons entering upon the solemn duties of life?

"For the appropriate and punctual discharge of these numerous and ever-recurring duties, a knowledge of all the scenes and incidents, the loves and hates, the despairs and raptures, contained in all the fictions ever written, is about as fit a preparation, as a knowledge of all the 'castles in the air,' ever built by visionaries and dreamers, would be to the father of a houseless family, who wished to erect a dwelling for their shelter, but was wholly ignorant both of the materials and the processes, necessary for the work." — *Ibid.*, p. 68.

In the year ending July, 1839, there were within the State eight Mechanics' Institutes, consisting of 1439 members, and 137 Lyceums, or similar associations, attended by an average of 32,698 persons, the whole furnishing lectures at an aggregate expense of $20,197·00; of which more than one half was expended for that purpose in the city of Boston. On the lectures here given, as they have hitherto been conducted, though excellent as far as they go, no reliance can be placed for any very valuable instruction. In addition to these means, there are the Sabbath-School libraries, a most important item, containing in one denomination above 100,000 volumes, and in another 50,000. These are mostly upon the paramount subject of religion.

The great question arises, whether any further means are necessary to promote the intelligence and encourage the self-culture of the rising generation. Of the facts stated and considerations presented in the discussion of this topic, of the views taken of the present intellectual and social condition and of the future prospects of a large portion of the population of the State, and of the arguments thence drawn for the establishment of the District-School Libraries, so condensed and so weighty, we could give no adequate idea but by transferring them entire to our pages.

In September appeared the Abstract of the Massachusetts School Returns for 1839 – 40, a volume of near five hundred pages, most laboriously compiled by the Secretary from

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the Returns and Reports of the school committees of *three hundred and one* of the *three hundred and seven* towns of the Commonwealth. The reports alone amounted to more than two thousand compactly-written letter-paper pages. Thus, in less than three and a half years from the creation of the Board, there have been prepared and laid before the people of Massachusetts, in the Reports of the Board and their Secretary, and in these three volumes of School Returns, the most extraordinary and altogether the most valuable collection of documents in regard to Common-School education, that has ever appeared.

The Abstracts, chiefly made up, as the last two are, of selections from the reports of the school committees, are the natural effect, the worthy return, of the principles and views that have been presented by the Board. The seed has been sown broad-cast through the land, and we are beginning to see its fruits.

It would, however, be great injustice to consider these reports as the echo of any men's opinions. They show the free, vigorous action of strong minds, under the influence of the highest motives, upon subjects of commanding interest. It has been the good fortune of the Board, called into being by the will of the legislature, to concentrate the public attention more fully than had hitherto been done, upon the condition of the schools, and, in their own reports, or by their Secretary, to point out and give distinctness to those particulars in their condition, which are of most immediate importance. Fortunately for the State, there were men ready and able so to carry out the views of the legislature. But most fortunate for all is it, and most auspicious to the cause of improvement, that in every part of the State are found men capable not only of appreciating, but of expanding and rendering more practical, every useful suggestion that has been presented to them. In the volumes of "School Returns," particularly that for 1839–40, we have the mature opinions of some hundreds of minds, of high intelligence, of enlarged views, apparently above all sinister influences, full of philanthropy and practical experience, earnestly engaged in devising means for the improvement of the common schools. Their opinions, and the facts on which they are grounded, are embodied in reports, which were read (so the statute requires) in open town meeting, and accepted as expressions of the opinions of the assembled citizens. They are thus the

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collected wisdom of the people of the State, on what relates to the most precious of its institutions, and, as such, of the highest authority, and deserving of the most respectful attention. These opinions and statements in regard to certain points, we propose, so far as our limits will allow, to examine.

The language of the Reports, from which these volumes are made up, indicates throughout, in the strongest manner, the attachment with which the *system* is regarded ; the sense entertained of its essential and fundamental value to free institutions, of its capacity for indefinite improvement, and of the unmeasured good it is susceptible of accomplishing. But the patriotic men who have drawn up these Reports, — and no volume ever written gives evidence of more true patriotism, — are willing to look upon the system as it is, to see its defects, and to consult together for the remedies.

The great and pressing want, — that in comparison with which most of the others sink into insignificance, — is the want of well-qualified teachers. This indeed is now felt to be the great want of the civilized world. In only one country is it fully supplied ; it is only since the beginning of the present century that it has been realized, and any systematic attempt made to supply it. In every State of the American Union, where any one has looked into the condition of the instruction of the great masses of the children, the universal cry is, as in almost all the countries of the Old World, "Better teachers !"

This want was never so deeply felt in Massachusetts as at this present moment. There is no subject brought so constantly and so prominently before the reader throughout these volumes. In many parts of the State, the standard, by the confession of the committees, is very low, and yet it is impossible to find teachers who can come up to it. There is a mournful uniformity in the tone of the complaints from all quarters upon this point. They come, in great numbers, from nearly every county in the State. We had marked some of these representations to lay before our readers. But they would be only so many repetitions of a perfectly uncontradicted fact. Not a committee thinks its teachers good enough ; not one but is aware how much more might be done by perfectly competent teachers.

No more serious question in regard to the schools can be asked, than the question, How is this want to be supplied ? It is not enough that better teachers are everywhere in de-

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mand. The better teachers are nowhere to be had. It has been supposed that they exist, but are occupied in other pursuits, and that higher wages would call them to the work. This is true in a few instances; but it cannot be in many. In most towns in the Commonwealth, the best qualified individuals do actually teach in the winter schools. Those, who have never taught, are usually conscious that they could not teach well without instruction themselves, and are doubtful whether they should succeed; and those, who have had some experience in teaching, have been such teachers as are at present employed, only with a standard less high, and with inferior qualifications. The character of each individual, as a teacher, and his modes of teaching, of arranging classes and studies, and of governing, depend in a great degree upon the character of the schools in which he was himself taught. Teaching is, in many particulars, an art, and, like all other arts, its processes are transmitted from hand to hand. How, then, are better teachers to be formed, to supply this great and increasing demand?

In the first place, it will undoubtedly be found, that, in consequence of the greater attention given to the schools, and especially in those districts in which the parents take a strong personal interest, and frequently visit the schools, the present teachers will be improved. Hitherto skill in teaching has been almost exclusively a consequence of personal experience. The teachers have begun entirely ignorant of their art. The good old custom of serving an apprenticeship in teaching has long since passed away, and nothing has yet come in to take its place. The good teachers have been made such at the expense of experiments upon their pupils. By this process every teacher is improved; and those, who enter upon the work with a hearty desire to excel in it, a genuine love of it, and a peculiar talent for it, will often arrive at excellence.

Then there have been some good books written on the subject of teaching, which will materially aid those who desire to improve themselves. Such are "The Teacher," by Jacob Abbott, "Lectures on School-Keeping," by S. R. Hall, and an excellent little book, "The Teacher Taught," by E. Davis. Many valuable suggestions may be gained from these, and there is evidence, in the volume before us, that they have already done good. The school committee of Middleborough, notice "the schools which have been taught

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upon the Abbott system" in terms of high commendation, and recommend Mr. Abbott's work to the perusal of teachers. Much valuable instruction is given in the Numbers of the "Common School Journal," particularly in the extracts from Palmer's Prize "Essays," an important addition to the school-master's library, lately issued from the press. The lectures delivered before the American Institute, now forming ten volumes, contain the suggestions of some of the best thinkers on various matters interesting to the teacher, and often give the fruits of the observation and practical wisdom of veteran instructors. But these, however valuable as helps, cannot serve to form the character of the teacher, any more than a law library, without previous practice or apprenticeship, would form an accomplished lawyer.

Much may be expected from the teachers' meetings. In every instance in which the instructors of a town have associated together, and had regular meetings for discussion, and comparison of opinions and experience, a visible effect of the most beneficial kind has been produced on their schools. Wherever this can be done, therefore, it should be done; and the school committees, so far as lies in their power, should see to it, that neither the fact that the teachers have been strangers to each other, nor distance, nor the shortness of their engagement, should prevent them from meeting together.

By all these means, the teachers may be somewhat, and often very much, improved. But, after all, for the accomplishment of this great object, we must look to the Normal Schools, and other places for the preparation of teachers. And already the eyes of the friends of the schools are directed thitherward.

The Normal Schools, whenever mentioned in the Returns, are spoken of in terms which show how much is expected from them. As the policy of the legislature in providing for the education of teachers is still, however, sometimes questioned, it may be well to examine some of the evidences and grounds of the opinion, very generally existing in the minds of the friends of education, of the necessity of such a provision, and of the wisdom of giving continued support to a course of measures for the purpose.

The first, we believe, who brought this subject prominently before the public, was the author of "Letters on the

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Free Schools of New England." These appeared in 1824, and were followed soon after by valuable "Essays" on the subject by the same writer. In 1825, a series of essays appeared in the "Connecticut Observer," and afterwards separately, from the pen of T. H. Gallaudet, late Principal of the American Asylum for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, upon a "Plan of a Seminary for the Education of Instructors of Youth." In these, he recommends the project, with a great variety of arguments. At a meeting of the American Institute, held August 29th, 1836, after the subject of "the professional education of teachers" had been discussed, the following resolves were passed; that "the business of teaching should be performed by those who have studied the subject of instruction as a profession," and that "there ought to be at least one seminary in each State, devoted exclusively to the education of teachers."

The qualifications spoken of by the school committees as essential to the character of a good teacher, and which would, by great numbers of them, be considered indispensable, if it were possible to consider the highest qualifications indispensable, and find any teachers for the schools, are such as can only be found, with some rare exceptions, in those who have undergone a specific preparation. To say nothing of the positive acquirements which a teacher should possess, of the familiar acquaintance he should have with arithmetic, with geography, and with history, interesting facts in which may be thrown in continually in teaching geography, or of the skill he should have in reading and in penmanship; he ought to possess a knowledge of various methods of teaching these branches. Now, this knowledge of methods, of their modes of operation, and of their success, can be acquired only by opportunities of hearing them fully and familiarly discussed, and of seeing them in operation. This might be done by an association of teachers, so situated as to meet together every evening, for months in succession, and have classes of their pupils meet with them. But it can be most successfully done only at a school where the attention can be turned to such points for a long time together, under the superintendence of an able and experienced teacher. There are no branches in which such flagrant deficiences are felt, and so many improvements are to be made, as in these essentials and staples of the district schools.

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A good instructor must have aptness to teach. The want of this is lamented, in multitudes of instances, in persons otherwise possessed of excellent qualities. Aptness to teach is unquestionably a peculiar gift, like a talent for painting or for mechanics. But, like them, it must be perfected by much use, under skilful masters. A moderate talent of this kind, highly cultivated, will be more effectual than great talent without cultivation; which can be given only by exercising the faculty under the eye and guidance of one who can point out failures and suggest the remedy. Where can this be done but in a place of preparation for teachers?

The teacher must have ability to manage and govern. This talent is more rare even than the last mentioned. And although it partly depends on a particular organization, and is found very widely different in different individuals, it can no more spring at once into perfect activity, than the talent for marshalling armies. The talent for governing children to the best end depends chiefly on perfect self-control. But when we include in it that directing power which can bring into vigorous action all the powers of a child, keeping the lower in just subordination to the higher, and having in view the greatest permanent good of the individual, it comprehends, in its exercise, a complete knowledge of the character of the pupil, with all the motives and springs of action, for good and for ill. It is needless to say, that a talent, which requires for its full exercise the complete survey of so wide a field, cannot be easily matured. All the helps that can be administered will still leave enough for the individual to do.

It is not easy to overstate the importance of this power of controlling, or the extent of its influence on the future well-being of the pupil. On the susceptible child, on one who is delicately constituted, the influence of the gifted teacher is all but omnipotent. His power to repress the bad, and to stimulate the good tendencies, is almost unbounded. Not only his intentional teachings, but his words, his manners, his looks, the tone of his voice, his smile and his frown, sink into the heart of the child, and control his inmost being. It is a beautiful trait in the character of children, that their sympathy with the exalted and generous qualities is far stronger than with their opposites. The malignant and selfish qualities excite, indeed, but they excite to opposition. They

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call out corresponding qualities for self-defence. They excite, but it is to aversion and hatred. It would be well, if these feelings could be prevented from going beyond the hateful object; but the evil propensities are blind, and being once excited in a child against an unfeeling, unjust, or selfish teacher, they extend also towards learning, order, discipline, intelligence, refinement, — all the qualities of which the hated individual is supposed to be the representative.

It is apparent, then, that too much attention cannot be given by school committees, in the selection of teachers, to every thing which goes to form the moral character of the candidate; and it is most gratifying to find, that many of the committees are fully aware of the importance of these considerations.

Further, it is obvious that the teacher, in order to be able to accomplish all that he ought, in the performance of his high duties, should be familiar with the elements of the human constitution in its two-fold nature; with the growth of the mind, the nature of the moral sentiments and the mental faculties, and the formation of mental habits; and with the physiology of the body, on the healthfulness of which, the developement and energy of the moral and intellectual qualities must depend. Here are two paths, each leading into wide fields of human knowledge. Can they be traversed without study? Will the unaided sagacity of all who are to teach, direct them to precisely what is most essential in these extensive sciences?

Again, every teacher should be acquainted with the elements of natural science; with something of Natural History, Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry. There is not a day in school, which might not be enlivened by the description of some natural object; there is hardly an hour, during which an occasion does not occur for drawing the attention to some appearance presented, or some process going on, or for giving information of some interesting fact. Most of the children at the common schools are destined to the happy lot of spending their lives in the country. One would think, that a prominent object of elementary education, there at least, should be to make them acquainted with the objects by which they are always to be surrounded. The naturalist finds, in the study of these objects, inexhaustible sources of pleasure; and, though it might be absurd to attempt to make

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all children naturalists, it would certainly be well to put those who have a taste for such pursuits within reach of these fountains of simple, innocent, and never-ceasing enjoyment. At least, they should have that knowledge of the properties of the objects about them, which would enable them to turn them to some use.

We have enumerated only the most important of the parts of knowledge which should be possessed by the teachers of the common schools, and some of the endowments, for which they should be distinguished. If the Union District System should go generally into operation, as we trust it will, a higher class of schools would be created, with more advanced studies, and requiring additional and higher qualifications in the teachers. It is apparent, then, that the Normal Schools are imperiously called for by the wants of the common schools as they now exist, and are still more essential in view of the great improvements which the system is destined to receive.

Another of the greatest and most universal evils, and one, of which the loudest complaints are made in the reports, is the multiplicity of school books. In very many schools, the time of the teacher is frittered away in hearing several classes in the same study, merely because the pupils have not all the same text-books; when, if they were all in one class, the teacher could spend that time in communicating instruction which is now occupied in asking questions and hearing answers. The committee have power to remedy this defect, by selecting the books to be used in the schools, and requiring uniformity. But this is a power which they are almost always unwilling to exercise. It can hardly be exercised without giving offence. Yet there is scarcely a matter in which it is so important that an umpire should act. If the choice is left to the parents, they must, almost of necessity, choose different books. If left, as it often is, to the teachers, there can be no uniformity, so long as they are liable to be changed every year, as each successive teacher will have his favorite text-books, which he will require all those, who have no books, to procure. An effectual remedy would be in requiring the school committee, by a vote of the town, to exercise this power in reference to every school. This might often be done, almost without expense, though not without a little trouble, by selecting a different text-book for each of

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two or three contiguous schools, and encouraging the exchange of books among those children of the several schools who did not wish to be at the expense of new ones. The evil has been remedied, in some instances, by causing a depository to be formed somewhere in the town for the books recommended by the committee, and furnishing them thus at reduced prices. This is certainly better than the course which is recommended and almost demanded in some of the "Reports," that the Board of Education should make the selection. If this were done, many books would be rapidly thrown out of circulation throughout the State. The schools would certainly be, in many instances, great gainers by the loss; but individual authors and publishers would suffer severely, and the schools might eventually suffer from the check upon the freedom of competition in the authors of their future text-books. If the selection be left to the towns, all the books now in use may be continued, without any of the mischievous confusion which now takes place; and the worthless books be left to die out, as they certainly will, before the searching scrutiny which is now turned upon the schools.

While upon this subject of books used in the schools, we cannot refrain from expressing our earnest desire, that some portion, at least, of the New Testament should always be one. If all the families in the Commonwealth were religious, it would be a matter of less importance, though it would then probably be a matter of course. But, as long as there are any children in the schools who may not otherwise become familiar with this volume, we think it ought to be, in some way or other, used in every school. If a portion of it is read to the school each day by the teacher, perhaps no greater or better use could or need be made of it. But if this is not done, let it be one of the class-books, and, if possible, for the highest class.

The subject of moral instruction has been mournfully neglected in the public schools, and we are rejoiced to see evidence of an awakened attention to this most important part of education. The subject, however, is of such extent, that we must pass it by with the single expression of the satisfaction we have in believing that great good will result from the strong, but just, representations made in relation to it in many of the Reports.

Another subject, of almost universal complaint with the

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school committees, is want of interest in the schools on the part of parents and guardians. There is but one opinion as to the advantage of their frequently visiting the schools ; and yet, in many places, most parents never see them, nor ever take the pains to become acquainted with the teacher. It is hardly conceivable, that a parent should be indifferent to the physical welfare and happiness of his offspring for so large a portion of their lives, or to the moral and mental qualities of those, who are to have so important an influence on their whole future character. There must be some general mistake on this subject ; some feeling, on the part of parents, that their visits would not be acceptable ; that their presence might be looked on as an intrusion. It can only be for some such reason, that fathers, and, especially, that mothers should so forego their natural rights, and neglect so important and obvious a duty. If parents could but realize, how full of fears and misgivings a teacher often is, how lonely and unsustained he is apt to feel, and how much they can do to lighten the heavy burden of his difficult and perplexing duties by a kind suggestion, or a judicious word of commendation, how much a generous expression of confidence will quicken his feeling of responsibility, elevate his sense of character, and stimulate him to increased diligence, — and how completely, on the other hand, a little unreasonable complaint, very easy to utter, will thwart his best efforts, and neglect and distrust discourage his well-meant exertions, — instead of meeting him with reserve, and watching his faults with jealousy, they would welcome him as a fellow-laborer, cheer him by their confidence, sustain his authority by their countenance, admit him sometimes into their families, and show him they are his friends. And, if they would but remember, how much the heart of a child is alive to sympathy, they would sometimes visit his place of labor, and, if at no other time, at least let him have the pleasure of anticipating their presence on the days of examination. Such considerations are feelingly and repeatedly urged throughout these Reports ; and if no other good should come from them than the establishing of a better understanding between parents and teachers, they would be richly worth all the labor, great as that is, and all the expense, which they have cost. And it is impossible to read them without feeling confident, that this will be their effect. There is such a thing as sympathy between man and man, and these

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powerful appeals to it cannot, from the nature of human affections, be unavailing.

The very general want of apparatus in the schools is only another indication of the humble character of the teaching. It is, however, gratifying to perceive, that the necessity of apparatus is becoming more and more general. The articles, which are thought most necessary, are black boards, maps, globes, and philosophical and chemical apparatus. Still more important, as more universally necessary, would seem to be apparatus to illustrate, or rather to render intelligible, the tables of weights and measures, which are usually required to be learnt by children, as ignorant of their meaning as if the words were in a foreign language. The obtuseness or entire ignorance, not uncommonly observed, in many persons otherwise intelligent, as to what relates to the measurement of solids, and even of surfaces, may doubtless be traced to their having failed to get definite ideas from the earliest lessons given them at school. It is one, out of numerous instances that might be given, of a mistake, almost universal, in teaching the elements of natural science, that the lesson containing the abstract principle is presented first, and the illustration, or experiment, afterwards. The natural order, it is almost too obvious to remark, is to present, first, the objects, or the experiments, — the nearest approach that we can make to the thing itself, or to the principle in nature, — and afterwards the statements, deductions, and generalizations, which are founded upon them.

Another kind of apparatus, that should be in all the schools, is a series of geometrical figures and solids, all that are in common use and whose names form a part of the language, for the express purpose of teaching language. What other sure way is there of teaching the meaning of *cubic*, *conical*, *cylindrical*, and other similar words, that are constantly occurring, than by showing the figures, or, still better, the cube, cone, and cylinder themselves ?

A large portion of the Reports is, of course, occupied with observations upon the manner of conducting the common business of the schools, the teaching of spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic. Of this we shall have room to say but few words.

As to the important art of *spelling*, though there are numerous complaints of the poor success with which attempts

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are made to teach it, there are very few, who seem to have any idea how it should be done. The absurd practice of spending years in spelling nonsense columns has been so long established, and become so general, that most persons are disposed to submit to it as if it were a decree of fate. We are rejoiced to see, that the delusion is not universal. Hear the committee of Freetown.

"As to *spelling*, there seems to be no good reason, why children should be kept drilling on unintelligible words for half a dozen years of their first school-going days. No wonder, that, where this course has been pursued, children have become weary of school, and hated their books. It is dry, toilsome, and uninstructive. They need to have something which they can understand, about which they can think; for, to learn to think correctly, and how to express our thoughts in language and in writing accurately, is a very important object of education. True, a little time must be taken, to learn the letters and their uses; but instruction and amusement ought to be mingled with it. As soon as they can pronounce a syllable, set them to read easy words; or, better still, let them learn their letters by the use of sentences composed of words of one syllable; or from the names of animals and familiar objects connected with their pictures; and they will find it a pleasure. Let them spell them as an amusement, and not as the main object. Let them also have slates to occupy them a part of every half day, and they will soon learn to make letters, figures, pictures, maps, and learn to write considerably, besides becoming tolerable readers in *three* or *four* years, — the time often consumed in spelling alone. Let every child in school have a small slate, or a part of one, and he will love to go to school. We have known children learn to write very well at five and seven years old by the use of the slate alone. The older scholars, who can write easily, should write ten or fifteen words, as there is time, every day, instead of spelling. This is all the practical use of spelling, that we make, except reading; and spelling is, after all, mostly learned by reading. Those who spell by the ear, may *guess* right, but let them spell by the eye, that is, in writing a letter, for instance, — the object for which they need to spell, — and perhaps half of their words will be spelled wrong. We have known some, who never spelled in the common way, but have learned by reading and writing, who hardly ever spell a word wrong."— *School Returns for* 1839 – 40, pp. 390, 391.

This is admirable; and the only wonder is, so just and

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philosophical are these observations, that they should not have occurred to all observers. We cannot but think, that nearly all the time, now spent in spelling, is lost, and far worse than lost, as it does very little to teach children to spell, while it does all that can be done to *teach them not to think.* The truth of the whole matter lies in two facts, perfectly obvious, yet seldom seen, that spelling is really addressed to the eye, and not to the ear; and that the *names* of the letters, in our language, have often only the most distant connexion with their power.

Another subject, closely connected with this, and dependent upon it, is, the manner and success with which reading is taught. Most of the faults that prevail, are traceable to two sources, incompetent teachers and unsuitable books. None but a teacher of sense, and feeling, and cultivated taste, can be successful in communicating this beautiful accomplishment; and even such a teacher cannot easily do it, unless he has suitable books. Let the committees, therefore, take care to secure well-qualified teachers, and to introduce good books, and the correct reading will be sure to follow. How difficult of attainment the first of these objects is, has been sufficiently shown. There is hardly less difficulty as to the other. A very small portion of the great number of books of this class are at all suited to the wants of the schools. They aim far above the mark, and infinitely overshoot it.

"Certainly from no ancient, probably from no other modern language, could such a selection of literary excellences be made, as some of them exhibit; — demonstrative arguments on the most abstruse and recondite subjects, tasking the acuteness of practised logicians, and appreciable only by them; — brilliant passages of parliamentary debates, whose force would be irresistible, provided only that one were familiar with all contemporary institutions and events; — scenes from dramas, beautiful if understood, but unintelligible without an acquaintance with heathen mythology; — wit, poetry, eloquence, whose shafts, to the vision of educated minds, are quick and refulgent as lightning, but giving out, to the ignorant, only an empty rumbling of words, — every thing, in fine, may be found in their pages, which can make them, at once, worthy the highest admiration of the learned, and wholly unintelligible to children." — *Secretary's Second Report*, pp. 62, 63.

As might be expected from the use of such means, the

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style of reading is apt to be rhetorical and unnatural. One thing, however, ought to be insisted on, and, being a mechanical thing, it may be accomplished with any set of books. We speak of correct and full enunciation. Want of this is the great fault of our schools. And yet it is, perhaps, the only thing, in regard to reading, entirely within the control of the teacher.*

The complaints, which are numerous, upon the multiplicity of studies pursued at one time, upon bad arrangement in the studies, and upon want of thoroughness, resolve themselves into that which has already been enlarged upon, the incompetency of teachers. Yet, while the teachers remain as they are, the school committees will often have occasion to interpose, to give a right direction upon these points; and those, who have not had occasion to give to them much thought, will find some most valuable suggestions in the work of a veteran school-visiter already referred to, "The Teacher's Manual."

A subject of preëminent importance to the welfare of the schools, is the character and duties of the school committees, and, in his first Report, the Secretary presented this at some length, and with great ability. A great change has already been wrought in some parts of the Commonwealth, which needed it most. Better men are chosen to the office, and, now that they are paid for their services, are expected to perform its duties. These volumes afford abundant evidence, that these duties are generally understood, and their importance felt; and, if the excellent practice of publishing the Reports is continued, they soon will be so, universally. Every suggestion, made by any committee, no matter where situated, no matter how little known, goes to add to the common light; and observations upon some of the poorest schools in the Commonwealth will serve to improve the best. If continued, the "School Returns" will be to the school committee-man and to the teacher, what the Term Reports are to the lawyer, or the Reports of Cases to the physician. Something, however, still remains to be done; for, from twenty-eight towns the committees have sent no reports,

* There is a little manual, called "Lessons in Enunciation," by William Russell, which contains all the important principles, clearly expressed and aptly illustrated. It should be in every school. Its price is a mere trifle.

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and from five they have made no returns for the last year. This is to be regretted. But it is clear, that the people have taken up this thing themselves. Many of the committees are evidently as competent, in all respects, as could anywhere be found. And this good spirit will spread. Reports and returns have this year been received from every town in Middlesex, Hampshire, Norfolk, and Bristol Counties, and from all but one in Hampden, Franklin, and Dukes; and we cannot read these reports but with a feeling of pride, that there are, in all parts of the Commonwealth, men capable of feeling so warmly, and of uttering with such power, the great truths in relation to the condition of the common schools.

It is evident, therefore, that that is done in many towns, which should be done in all. The very best men, those most distinguished for intelligence, for acquirements, and, especially, for their high moral tone, should, alone, be upon the committees. Such men should not, as often heretofore, decline this service. It is, if faithfully performed, always laborious; it is usually ill paid, and often thankless. But these are reasons, why those, who are qualified for it, should not feel at liberty to decline it. It is time this matter were understood. There is not a child, in the poorest district in the country, who might not be so trained, by the means that the schools could present, as to enjoy the highest and purest pleasures that can fall to the lot of the most favored individual. The coming generation has a claim upon the present, not only for liberty, but for those higher advantages which give value to liberty itself. And on whom does this claim rest, if not on those who are capable of feeling it? — upon the men who recognise the duties which the relation between man and man imposes? We have not a right to sit in our studies, enjoying the luxuries of thought, and books, and leisure, and say to our poor brethren without, "Be ye warmed and clad; let the child of the poor and depressed man become wise, and learned, and virtuous, if he can." Something is to be done. We cannot, believers in a spiritual religion, acknowledge, as we do, the rights of the body to be relieved, and yet remain deaf to the higher wants of the soul. No; we must be consistent; and there must be a spirit worthy of such a cause; not that sycophantic spirit, which is ready to cajole the ignorant and the degraded by flattering them, that they are more competent than any other

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men living, to provide suitable education for their children; but that lofty spirit of truth, which dares to tell them, that education is their great want, and that it will come best, — that it can come only, — from the intelligent and the virtuous. It is the just boast of Massachusetts, that the property of all is taxed for the education of all. Would it not be, at least, as just a cause of boasting, that the talents, and learning, and skill of all were taxed for the instruction of all?

The Reports, from beginning to end, are full of evidence of the inestimable value of the School Registers. Never before has been brought to view, and in no other way could be brought to view, the vast loss to the people of this Commonwealth from irregularity of attendance at school.

The returns show, that, out of 124,354, who, during the last year, attended the summer schools, the average absences were 31,656, nearly one fourth; and of 149,222, attending the winter schools, the average absences were, 37,378, still nearly one fourth.

This is an unwelcome statement. One fourth of all the money laid out, and of the time spent by teachers and committees, and, what is of infinitely more consequence, one fourth of all the opportunities presented to the rising generation, lost by irregular attendance! This is enough to wake up all the friends of the schools to a sense of the greatness of the evil, and to the suggestion of means to lessen it.

Much may doubtless be done by arrangements within the school itself. The introduction of music, as one of the exercises, is found always to have this effect. Children are not willing to be absent from the morning song. The same effect is produced by exhibitions of apparatus. Interesting and intelligible conversation, at the beginning of school-hours, questions upon things, the telling or reading a story or description, that all can understand, will do the same. Every thing, in short, which improves the character of the instruction, will attract children to school. Still, much will be left for those to do, whose duty it is made, by the statutes of the Commonwealth, to check the evils of irregular and negligent attendance.

One object, in preparing reports, is to make known to the inhabitants of each town the actual condition of its schools. The statute upon this point requires, that the "report shall be read in open town meeting," "or be printed and distributed

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for the use of the inhabitants." The intent of the statute evidently is, that the inhabitants should be informed of the condition of their schools; and, as this cannot be done by the first mode required, it would seem to follow, that in the large towns, the Reports should be printed for circulation. We regret to observe, that the committee for the city of Boston made so very short a report, and that it was not printed. Justice to the excellent public schools and their faithful and accomplished teachers seemed to require, that a full report should be made. Justice to the citizens required, that it should be laid before them. In no part of the world, probably, are the public schools receiving more attention, and, although not certainly what they should be, there are probably few places where they have made such progress. If there were no other reason, and there are many others, a report should have been made for the purpose of giving some account of the Public Latin School, a model which might be imitated in many of the large towns of the Commonwealth, and of whose value it is no exaggeration to say, that, open and free as it is to all the boys in the city, there are many individuals, who feel that the expense of their children's education is a secondary consideration with them, and who yet cannot afford to send them to any other school, for at no other could they receive the same thorough, scholarlike, and manly preparation for college or for active life. It is reasonably expected of the school committees, that there shall be at least one public school in every town, so good, that the wealthiest citizens shall not be able to afford to send their children to any other.

Among the many plans proposed, and hints thrown out, in these Returns, for the improvement of the schools, none seems to promise more good than that for the union of school districts.* It is gratifying to see that this project is occupying the

*This scheme, recommended by Mr. Mann in his Report on School Houses, as we have already hinted, contemplates the erection of a central school, equally accessible to four, or more, associated districts, to be provided with a teacher of higher qualifications and employed for a greater length of time, and to be supported by the united action of the districts, with a view to affording a higher order of instruction to children above a certain age; the several district schools to be continued for the benefit of the younger portion of the pupils, under the instruction of females. He has shown, that, by a union of this kind, a higher class of teachers might be employed, and more efficient instruction be given, not only without additional expense, but with a positive saving.

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attention of the committees, and from them receiving a shape suited to the wants of the several towns. It is highly commended and urged, in numerous quarters. In the report from the committee of Goshen, one of the smallest towns in the State, the subject is very fully and ably discussed. Its adoption is urged on the score of economy, the superior advantages it would afford, its harmony with republican institutions, its bringing home the best opportunities of instruction and thus superseding the necessity of sending children abroad, and its general utility to the town, by raising the standard of education, and bringing out the best talent of the community. The committee think the Union School might be kept for six months. In most towns in the Commonwealth it might be kept for nine or ten. And we have no hesitation in saying, that, for all the purposes for which schools ought to be kept, ten months of the year are better than the whole. We consider it far the most important objection to the excellent public schools in Boston, that they are kept for so many weeks. The vacations are too short. It would be better for masters and pupils if they were longer. It is not sufficiently considered, that it is favorable neither to the energy of the mind, nor to the acquisitions made by it, to exercise it when it is over-worn. One reason why children are kept so long at school in the larger towns, is that there are so few suitable, safe, and healthy employments for them while out of school. But it is not so in the country. The operations of husbandry and horticulture offer employment for boys of all ages, the best possible for health of body and of mind.

We have no doubt, that the plan for the union of district schools, well executed, would be productive of all the good anticipated from it, and much more. The objection on the score of the distance is one only in appearance. The walk would be beneficial in ten instances, where it would be injurious in one. But this objection might be obviated, in some measure, by having only one session in the day. One session, from ten to three o'clock, with one or two short recesses, would, especially in the shortest days, be a great saving of time to teachers and pupils, would secure greater punctuality in those who came from a distance, and would avoid the moral evils of the intermission.

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An essential part of this plan is, that the winter district schools, as well as the summer schools, should be taught by females. This is the best kind of instruction for children of both sexes, up to the age of ten or twelve, certainly, and perhaps to the age of fourteen. And we confess, we look to the more extensive employment of females, in the schools of the two lower grades, and to the consequent employment of a much smaller number of men, but with much higher qualifications, than heretofore, in the union or town schools, with more confidence of good effects, than to any other improvement on the common-school system that has been proposed. The returns before us, with extraordinary unanimity, confirm this view. And let it be remembered, that the conclusions have been formed on the success of female teachers, who, in a great majority of instances, have enjoyed very imperfect advantages of preparation for their office. They have received their whole education at schools, which may indeed sometimes have been good, but which we know must have been, in most instances, poor. What might not the same native talent have accomplished, if aided by the advantages which are now enjoyed at Lexington or at Barre?

Let then the summer schools as now, and the winter district schools, as far and as soon as possible, be taught by females. But let them be qualified for the office. Let the example of Salem be imitated by every town in the Commonwealth. By a vote of the city council, the city's share of the dividends of the Massachusetts school fund was

"applied in part to the support, for a year, at the Normal School in Lexington, of two young ladies, to be selected from such of the assistants, or older scholars of the east and west female schools, as might need, and would desire to avail themselves of this assistance for the purpose of increasing their qualifications for future service in the public schools. This grant was coupled with stipulations, that the amount advanced should be gradually repaid by a deduction from the salaries to be afterwards allowed them as assistants; so that, in effect, under ordinary circumstances, the grant would prove equivalent to a loan, and would enable the beneficiaries, without apprehension, to anticipate their own resources, and leave it in the power of the committee to continue to provide for the same object by the use of the same means." — *Massachusetts School Returns.* p. 39.

If this cannot be done for two females, let it be for one;

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and, if not for a year, let it be for a single term. The expenses of a residence at Lexington or Barre are so very moderate, that there are very few towns in the State which might not support a teacher there, for one term each year, by means of its portion of the dividends of the school fund. Let the directors of the Normal Schools make a regulation, that a female, sent by any of the towns, shall be entitled to leave the institution at the end of one quarter, if the town desire it. We believe, that three years would be most profitably spent, by any female teacher in the Commonwealth, at the Normal Schools, as they are now conducted. But yet we are confident, that, in the case of those who have had experience in teaching, the opportunity of seeing the right management of a school, and the right mode of teaching, even for a single quarter, would be an important benefit. Let the most successful teacher be selected, the individual most familiar with the studies and most apt to teach, most heartily engaged in teaching, and most desirous of devoting herself to it till death or marriage. When she returns and resumes her school, let the other female teachers of the town have the advantage of visiting her school, and observing her methods. Such a visit of but half a day, even if repeated but a few times, would often give an improved aspect to the interior of a school. Let the female teachers be encouraged to associate for mutual improvement, and make the experience and skill of each a common fund for the benefit of all. Let the school committees arrange and bring about these meetings. Let them attend them, and take part in them. What admirable lectures upon instruction would many of the authors of these reports make. Some members of the committees have been teachers themselves ; they have long observed the defects of the schools ; they have more or less distinct ideas of their remedies, and of a higher and more efficient system than they have ever seen in operation. Let them bring these cherished fancies out, and, catching zeal from the eager interest of the young and ardent female teachers, whom they will assemble about them, let them plan better schools and better modes of teaching, and urge the teachers to self-cultivation, and stir up the sympathy of the parents in their cause.

The Union District System would establish three grades of schools for all the towns in the State except about ten of

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the smallest; the Summer Schools, the District Winter Schools, and the Union, Central, or Town Schools. The two lower grades would remain as now, except that they would be necessarily improved by the action of the central schools. In each town there might be one central school, as proposed in Goshen, a town of less than six hundred inhabitants; or two, according to the suggestion from Westhampton, a town of less than nine hundred; or more, in proportion to the size and convenience of the towns.

Of the numerous advantages, that would follow from this gradation of schools, we shall briefly notice some of the most striking.

One would be the establishment of a gradation of studies. Each class of schools should have certain studies peculiar to itself, an acquaintance with which should be requisite for entering the next higher. This would be a great gain. Nothing is more exciting, or more innocently so, than the expectation of an examination, with something real dependent upon it. The requisite for admission to the summer district school should be four years of age. This is insisted upon by some of the committees, and with great reason. Little is gained by sending children very early to school. They are thus, it is true, out of their parents' way, but not so completely out of harm's way as is usually thought. They are seriously in the way of the improvement of the elder pupils. Very little attention can be given to them, and they are, therefore, in great danger of forming habits of idleness, inattention, and mischief-making in school, of which they cannot afterwards be easily cured.

The requisites for admission to the winter district schools might be seven years of age, and an examination, the character of which should be settled by the school committee. The branches pursued at these schools might be those now taught, together with music, and the elements of natural history, to a specified extent, so as to have a clear line of distinction between these and the union schools.

Schools of the highest grade might be open to none under ten years of age, and to those over that age only after a satisfactory examination in the proper studies of the district schools, with a dispensing power in the committee, to cover extraordinary cases. By these exclusions, space would be left for a much wider range of studies, including, after arithmetic and ge-

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ography, drawing, geometry, chemistry, natural history, book-keeping, natural philosophy, astronomy, the history of the United States and general history, surveying, social and civil duties, the elements of politics, grammar, rhetoric, and, where it is desirable, the course of studies required for admission to the colleges. Music ought to be a part of the pursuits of each school.

Another great advantage of this gradation of schools, would be the saving of time, by bringing together children of nearly equal powers and progress; thus enlarging the classes and diminishing their number, making room for additional studies, and giving more time for *teaching*. A class of twenty may be as easily and as well taught in a given time, as one of five.

The last advantage that we should notice, and by far the greatest, is the way thus opened for making teaching a profession. Many intelligent females, in almost every town and village, would rejoice in the opportunity of devoting themselves for life to the business of instruction. Under the proposed change, they might be employed, winter and summer, as many as eight or nine months, even in the smallest towns, and, in the larger, ten; a length of time, beyond which no teacher ought to be occupied for years in succession. In this way, and in this way only, perhaps, will a regular profession of teachers, male and female, grow up for the whole State. Under the present system, the smaller towns cannot expect to have a male teacher of the highest qualifications, except by accident. Under the proposed arrangement, by adopting an excellent suggestion of the committee of Wareham, some of the best teachers might be secured even to those union or district schools, that could be kept for only four or five months.

"We think we hazard nothing in saying, that it would be better for all parties concerned, if we should employ the most competent teachers the whole year, and let them pass from district to district until the year came round, giving to each district its just proportion of time. In this way, a male teacher might be employed in each district a suitable time, and a female in the same district another portion of time. A few teachers of superior quality might thus keep all our schools." — *Abstract of School Returns, for* 1839 – 40, p. 438.

We can conceive of few situations more honorable, and, for one who could enter upon the work with that ardent

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and unaffected love of it, which constitutes the highest qualification, more truly desirable, than that of a permanent teacher of one of these union schools. A man of the highest order of attainments, under the influence of a sentiment of duty, might be happy in such a place.

The Secretary, in his Second Report, says;

"The time spent by the scholars in reading, from the age of eight or ten to sixteen years, is amply sufficient to enrich their minds with a great amount of various and useful knowledge, without encroaching one hour upon other accustomed studies." — *Secretary's Second Report*, p. 43.

We should be willing to use still stronger language. The Union District System, if well executed, as there is every reason to believe it will soon be in many towns, and we hope eventually in all, will give instruction to children from the age of four to sixteen, and, if desirable, to a more advanced age, for eight or nine months of the year. And this, as we have already said, is enough. We have no doubt, that more of every kind of useful knowledge may be acquired, and more thorough discipline given, to all the powers of the mind in nine months, than in twelve. For the perfect developement of the powers of the body, and the confirmation of a vigorous and healthy constitution, the shorter period of study is, of course, vastly more desirable. Whoever considers, how many hours of every day in the year are usually lost in listlessness by the jaded pupil of the year-long school, and compares this with the freshness and cheerful alacrity of spirit with which the child comes to his studies, who has been enjoying, for some months, the freedom and open-air exercise of a country life, will be disposed to agree with us. No one, who has had the opportunity, can have failed to observe, how the mind, with the body, of the boy, condemned to toil on through the summer at a city school, has yielded and bent under the burden; how the ruddy cheek has grown pale, and the elastic step heavy; how the gay and careless playfulness of spirit, which had made light of tasks, has been gradually exchanged for a listless and plodding fidelity, like the dogged pertinacity of an office drudge; how completely all the happy buoyancy of childhood has been quelled long before the coming of the brief August vacation. Another, under a better system or a happier fortune, is sent off into the country when the sultry days first come on, there to ride, and make hay,

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and gather flowers, and catch fish, or do — what is most absurdly called doing nothing, — to wander about, at will, over hill and dale, looking at all things growing and living, and learning how the country people live. Mark the difference of the two, when the studies begin, at the autumn schools. What is more to the purpose, mark the difference at the end of half a dozen years, and there will be no question about the equal scholarship, and far better character of body, mind, and moral nature, of the child grown up to manhood, who has been allowed to yield to the impulses of nature, and enjoy the summer, as the Author of the summer and the country intended it should be enjoyed.

We say, therefore, that nine, or at farthest ten, months of schooling in a year, are enough for any part of the State and any age of the pupils. And we believe, that the adoption of the Union District System, and the substitution of female for male teachers in the smaller districts, will secure a school for that number of months for nearly every district in the State.

Now we believe, with entire confidence, that, by a proper selection or creation of school books, written on a proper system and adapted to their purpose, with teachers, such as may be furnished and will be furnished by the Normal Schools, — if, by the blessing of God upon this State, and the generous exertions of good men, they shall be carried into full operation, — vastly more may be done in these schools, not only than is now done, but even than the most sanguine friends of the schools dare yet to hope. Whoever will consider, how much time is now lost by the absurd practice of spelling, which is almost universally continued, from the beginning to the end of the course, in all our schools, and by the variety and multiplicity of reading books, almost wholly unintelligible to the greater part of every school; how the vain attempt to cultivate a rhetorical style of reading has been allowed to invade and supplant the paramount object of training the mind, and furnishing it with useful knowledge for future life; how much time is wasted by the incompetency and the frequent changes of teachers; how much the energies of the mind are impaired by poorly warmed, badly lighted, and ill ventilated school rooms; how much is lost by the absence of all system in books and studies, by wrong beginning and bad habits, by the absence, in most places, of

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a just classification of pupils, by the indifference of parents, and the faithlessness or incapacity of school committees; and yet how much, under all these disadvantages, is actually accomplished, — will be prepared to expect momentous changes when these defects are remedied, and these evils, as they will be, are corrected, — and will be prepared to admit, that this confidence of ours is not without foundation.

We close with a few statements from the Abstract of the Returns of last year (1840), which we think will not be found without interest.

Of the three hundred and seven towns in the State, six made no returns. In one or two, the returns do not enable us to determine the amount of money raised for the instruction of children between the ages of four and sixteen. Of the remainder, six raised less than $1·25 to each child between those ages, the proportion required by law to entitle the town to receive its portion of the school fund.

17	raised	between	$1·25	and	$1·50
82	"	"	1·50	"	2·00
82	"	"	2·00	"	2·50
50	"	"	2·50	"	3·00
44	"	"	3·00	"	4·00
13	"	"	4·00	"	5·00

4, viz. Boston, Chelsea, Medford, and Milton, over $5·00.

Thus, only six failed to entitle themselves to the boon offered by the State. Fewer than twenty did just what was required, or somewhat more; while one hundred and seven raised more than twice the amount required, and many, more than three times that amount. The average raised throughout the State was $2·66, or, including the amount of board and fuel contributed, $2·80, for each child between four and sixteen.

There are several very encouraging facts, shown by the aggregate of these returns, compared with those of the preceding year. Three additional towns have sent returns, with an additional population of less than seven hundred. The number of male teachers has diminished from 2,411 to 2,378, that is, by 33; while the number of female teachers has increased by 103, viz. from 3,825 to 3,928. The average wages, paid per month, to males have risen from $31·90 to $33·08, viz. $1·19 per month. Those of female teachers have risen from $12·32 to $12·75, viz. $0·43 per month; and when

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it is considered, that, during that time, the wages in Boston and most of the larger towns have continued nearly the same, and that two of the counties have made no change, a very favorable one is indicated in the smaller towns elsewhere.

The average of the time of keeping schools has increased from seven months and four days to seven months and ten days, a full week for each school in the State.

The amount raised by taxes, &c., has increased from $447,809 to $477,221; and the amount contributed, from $31,934 to $37,269; while the aggregate paid for the tuition of private schools and academies has diminished nearly in an equal rate, from $270,462 to $241,114.

The whole amount raised or contributed for the support of public schools has increased from $479,744 to $514,490.

The whole amount paid for schools, public and private, has increased from $817,217·24 to $828,334·66.

ART. VIII. — 1. *Address, delivered before the Charitable Irish Society, in Boston, March 17th*, 1837. By JAMES BOYD, President of the Society. Boston. 1837.

2. *Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland, illustrated. The Literary Department* by N. P. WILLIS, Esq. Numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4. London. 1840.

3. *The Token, and Atlantic Souvenir, for* 1840. Edited by S. G. GOODRICH. Boston.

4. *The Pilot* Newspaper; for the Years 1838, 1839, and 1840. Boston.

5. *The New York Freeman's Journal.* Scattered Numbers. 1840.

6. *The Spirit of Seventy-Six;* New York Newspaper. Number 1. November, 1840.

7. *The Native American;* New Orleans Newspaper. Scattered Numbers.

THE subject which we have here undertaken to discuss, is one of serious importance, and it is also, in common parlance, one of great delicacy; that is to say, one which involves many of the conflicting tastes, passions, and prejudices

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of this great community. But there is a false, as well as a real delicacy, in politics as in morals. The former species would possibly lead a public writer to eschew such a topic as this. The latter kind impels us to venture on it discreetly, to the best of our judgment, but, at the same time, boldly. We admit that the subject has a sting in it; and, remembering the metrical recipe for most effectually plucking a nettle, we comply with the advice of the quaint old author, and

"Seize it like a man of mettle."

But, aware of the opposing interests at stake, we cannot expect to please all parties as we proceed; and we shall be lucky, if we satisfy completely any one individual. We do not attempt our task with the view of making proselytes. We hope, however, to afford information, such as may at least induce others to reflect as seriously as we have done, if it does not lead them to similar conclusions.

It is not a little extraordinary that a theme of such abounding interest has not, as far as we can recollect, attracted the attention of any of the writers of books upon this country, beyond some passing allusion, although it has called forth much observation and animated, not to say angry, discussion from newspaper contributors. There are, in fact, several journals throughout the Union established expressly for the examination of the question embodied in the title of this article, in all its complicated bearings; and societies have been formed, of both native Americans and naturalized Irish, for the promulgation of opinions in relation to it, reciprocally positive and diametrically opposite. But it is not from the effusions of party writers, whose ardor, too often both violent and illogical, either distorts or confuses a great question, that its calm developement may be looked for. He who would fully and fairly survey so intricate a subject as this, must stand on neutral ground, and on that elevation which impartiality alone can afford him. We may be self-deceived in believing that such is our position; but could we, without seeming irrelevant, or perhaps impertinent, enter into some details personal to ourselves, our readers would probably concede the claim which we put forward. We are, however, conscious, that, in proportion to the absence of all motives of self-interest, there may exist a want of the prompt and keen perception of minutiæ,

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which self-interest alone creates. But if such deficiency is balanced by a broader comprehension of the general merits of the case, it may fare better in our hands, than when treated by some of the talented partisans, whose *ex parte* ebullitions are before us.

In a late number of our Journal,* we endeavoured to attract attention towards the state of Ireland in its present aspect of regeneration, and we gave some passing sketches of its modern history, with extracts from the work of an able and recent traveller; enough, we are sure, to have excited a strong sympathy in favor of its inhabitants, and a more lively interest in those who, under happier auspices than heretofore, might take the decisive step of emigration, and become settlers and citizens in the United States. We promised, on that occasion, to recur to the subject in its relations to this country; and, in now proceeding to redeem our pledge, we consider it necessary to offer some general considerations as to the Irish character, as well as to its capabilities of adaptation to the peculiar influences of the political and social institutions of this country. It is not, however, our intention to enter on an elaborate disquisition resting entirely on our own opinions. The notions of a single writer may not happen to square on all points with the combined ones which enter into the conduct of a journal like ours; and the conventional "We," of an individual more frequently sets a restriction on, than it allows a latitude to, private views. Sympathies and antipathies as to men and things, depending on temperament or chance association, are more potent than the sober results of judgment, in a case which must be more or less a personal one. With this conviction we prefer citing the opinions of others, to giving our own; and we shall exclude those put forth in their own country by native Irishmen, of different religious sects and political parties; for, as a general rule, on which we may possibly find some future occasion to dilate, we hold that it is by foreigners alone, that the moral characteristics of any nation can be accurately ascertained.

But it will not be required, at this time of day, to revert to the opinions of "the ancients," ignorant and superstitious as they were on most points of geographical science foreign to their immediate localities, and unenlightened as to the inhabitants of a

* See *North American Review*, Vol. LI. pp. 187 *et seq.*

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distant island, the report of whose existence was considered as almost fabulous. The Phœnician navigators and merchants, who had pushed their enterprise as far as the Atlantic, secured their monopolies of trade by concealing the real nature of the islands of the West, which were, in consequence, made the scenes of vague imaginings by the Greek poets, who there placed their Elysian fields, their Hesperides, and the Isle of Calypso, creations of fancy, founded on a reality long afterwards established. In the "Argonautics," a poem written five hundred years before the Christian era, Ireland is mentioned without any reference to Britain; and, about two centuries later, both islands are noticed under their original Celtic names of Ierna, or Juverna, and Albion. It was not till about this period, that the Greeks made voyages to the British Islands, though the Phœnicians had traded to them for many centuries. It appears from the poems of Avienus, who, in the fourth century, had access to some Punic records in one of the temples of Carthage, that a Carthaginian, named Milcho, made an expedition to Ireland about three hundred and fifty years before Christ, and, on his return, gave a particular account of the country. It is to be remarked, that he speaks more particularly of Ireland than of Britain. He describes the hide-covered boats, or *curracks*, in which the inhabitants navigated their seas; and he speaks of the populousness of the isle of the Hyberni, and of the turfy nature of its soil.

From scattered testimonials like these, there can be no doubt that, though the earliest population consisted of Celts, the Phœnicians had established colonies in Ireland, and introduced their religious rites and ceremonies into the country, long before the Christian era. But although the records of Greek and Roman writers are valuable, as far as they establish the remote antiquity of the Irish race, we should as soon think of admitting Lord Roden's folios,* or Lord Powerscourt's pamphlet,† or the publication of any other rabid Orangeman of the present day, as authorities on the disputed points of Irish character, as we should gravely quote the more excusable monstrosities of some of the authors of old.

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* *Report of a Select Committee of the House of Lords on Crime in Ireland, following Lord Roden's Motion.* 4 vols. 4to. London, 1839.

† *Essay on the State of Ireland*, by Lord Powerscourt. London, 1840.

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"The Irish live on human flesh, and think it a duty to eat the bodies of their deceased parents," says Strabo, book IV.

"When they gain a victory, they first drink the blood of the slain," says Solinus, c. xxiii.

These passages out-Roden Roden, and at any rate prove the startling sympathy between by-gone fiction and new-fangled fanaticism.

Had Ireland had the advantage of being subjected by Rome, as Britain was, she would have been long since known to the rest of the world in her true colors, and refinement would have taken earlier root in her social habits, as fertile in all times for the fruits of civilization, as her plains have been for those of husbandry. To be conquered, but not crushed, by an enlightened nation, is the greatest blessing that can befall a savage one. But Ireland unfortunately found no Cæsar to subdue, no Agricola to colonize, no Tacitus to describe her. No Roman ever planted a hostile foot on her shores; and she went on, from century to century, in isolated obscurity, with the poor consolation of certain after-claims for learning and virtue, that are at best apochryphal, and too often a by-word for ridicule or doubt.

When Englishmen began to know something of the people who had been so long their neighbours, and of whom they at length so easily made a prey, an astonishing unanimity of sentiment was expressed concerning them. Giraldus Cambrensis, in the twelfth century, bore striking and pithy testimony, in a sentence as terse and comprehensive as one of Tacitus himself, to the energy and sincerity of the Irish of his times, — two of the noblest qualities in a half-savage people. "If an Irishman be a good man, there is no better; if he be a bad man, there is no worse."

Improvement was rapid and great.

J. Good, an ecclesiastic, in 1566, gives his descriptive evidence as follows;

"In general this people are robust and remarkably nimble; of bold and haughty spirit; sharp-witted, lively, prodigal of life; patient of want, heat, and cold; of amorous complexion; hospitable to strangers, constant in their attachments, implacable in their resentments; credulous, greedy of glory, impatient of reproach and injury; they think it the highest wealth to live without work, and *the greatest happiness to enjoy liberty*."

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The lapse of nearly three centuries has made small change in the leading traits of this admirable analysis.

Lord Bacon, in one of his powerful and sententious paragraphs, says ;

"This island is endowed with so many dowries of nature, considering the fruitfulness of the soil, and especially the race and generation of men, as it is not easy to find such a confluence of commodities, *if the hand of man did join with the hand of nature.*" — *Works*, Vol. III. p. 321.

More modern English writers, — Cobbett, Inglis, Wakefield, and others, — bear out the character given by those of old. Mr. Weale, of the office of Woods and Forests, in his evidence before the House of Lords, declares that "there is the finest possible field in Ireland, for the exertion of skill and the employment of capital." And he adds, that "he had never met with peasantry who are *as well disposed as the Irish* to exert themselves for the provision of a maintenance."

The late Mr. Sadler, an eminent member of the House of Commons, exclaims ; "The natural capacities of Ireland are unrivalled, so are those of its people, though both be uncultivated, abandoned, and abused. In the character of its inhabitants are *the elements of whatever is elevated and noble.* Their courage in the field has never been surpassed ; their charity, notwithstanding their poverty, never equalled."

These extracts prove the difficulty of separating a consideration of the country itself from a notice of the people, and we shall add only a couple of quotations from celebrated authors, far removed from each other in date, which have reference to the capabilities of the soil alone.

Edmund Spenser, the great poet, whose long residence in Ireland gave him good opportunities for knowing the country, but whose severity of feeling towards the natives, as indicated in his "View of Ireland," removes all suspicion of his being a too partial witness to the merits of their birth-place, writes of it in the following strain ;

"And sure Ireland is yet a most sweete and beautifull countrie as any under Heaven, being stored throughout with many goodlie rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantlie, sprinkled with many verie sweete islands and goodlie lakes, little inland seas that will carry even shippes upon their waters ; adorned with goodlie woods, even fit for building of

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shippes and houses, as that if some princes in the world had them they would soon hope to be lords of all the seas, and ere long, of all the world. Also full of very good ports and havens open upon England, as inviting us to come into them to see what excellent commodities the countrie can afford; besides the soyle itself most fertile, fit to yeeld all kinde of fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And lastly, the heavens most milde and temperate, though somewhat more moist than the parts towards the East."

And Malthus, who could scarcely have looked with a favorable eye on a population whose every cottage offered a practical dissent from his peculiarly un-Irish theories, still conscientiously bears witness, that "Ireland might be made a more rich and prosperous country than England is, in proportion, in consequence of *its greater natural capabilities.*"

After having stated so much of undoubted fact, on such authorities, we do not think it necessary to dwell on points which may not bear the same authentic stamp. But the absence of all venomous reptiles from this island, for which God has done so much and man so little, is a feature so remarkable, that it must not be silently passed by. Without claiming for St. Patrick the merit of having driven out those plagues, (there being no evidence that they ever existed in "the Emerald Isle,") it is enough to know, that English writers, centuries back, remarked and recorded the peculiarity. "*Nullus ibi serpens vivere valeat,*" was the expression of the venerable Bede; while Camden says, "*Nullus hic anguis nec venenatum quicquam.*"

Coming down to our own days, and to travellers from a country not known to the authors we have just cited, we find that a popular American writer, Mr. N. P. Willis, has latterly visited and written about Ireland; and the opening sentence of the first number of his work pays the following lively tribute to the country and the people;

"The prominent association with the name of Ireland, is that of a prolific mother of orators, soldiers, patriots, and poets. Out of sight of the froth that is thrown up from the active cauldron of her political evils, and out of hearing of the squabble and fret, the jibe and jeer, the querulous complaint and the growling reply, which form the perpetual undertone of English news, the inhabitant of other countries looks at the small space Ireland occupies on the map and counts her great names, and reads her melancholy, but large and brilliant page

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in history, with wonder and admiration. Whatever horrors the close-seen features of her abortive revolutions may present, and whatever littleness may belong to the smaller machinery of her political intrigues, conspiracies, and the like, the distant eye reads, in the prominent lines of the picture, an *undying love of liberty, and an untamed and restless energy of genius and character.*"

How much more true to fact and to history is this summing up, than the assertion of Mr. Carlyle, that "Ireland has been in a chronic atrophy for five centuries back;"* an assertion which, although perpetrated in plain English, — a rare accident on the part of the author, — is any thing but plain sense, in the teeth of the desperate activity displayed by Ireland from the invasion by Strongbow to the rebellion of 1798, of the mighty agitation which carried Catholic emancipation in 1829, and of the sublime temperance movement under the guidance of Father Mathew, at the very period when the author put forth his *ex cathedrâ* crudity. It is to be regretted that Mr. Willis has not followed up his promising paragraph by matter more worthy of it and of him, than the bald and revolting sketches of men and pigs, which form the staple of his "illustrations of scenery and antiquities." We ought not, indeed, to expect every tourist to be a philosopher because he is peripatetic, nor reckon on good taste as the certain accompaniment of talent. But we do wish that this author, instead of lavishing his vivacious powers upon petty details of dress and appearance in the present population, had been imbued with the feeling which prompted the benevolent Peter Parley (for every one knows Mr. S. G. Goodrich by that name,) "to prove that the Irish have generous hearts; that they are a noble race, injured, wronged, and often degraded, but for these very reasons entitled to the sympathies of mankind; and that, on the score of intrinsic qualities, they have strong claims to the respect of the world." — *The Token for* 1841, *Preface*, p. 5.

Such, — and we might multiply authorities to almost any amount, — are the people of Ireland, who, independent of those powerful claims to consideration, present an almost unique example (the Jews and the Gypsies might be cited as in a great degree similar) of a nation retaining for full three

* Carlyle's *Chartism*, p. 30.

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thousand years the distinguishing thoughts, feelings, customs, and language of their ancestors. Indubitable proofs of their antiquity, besides those already cited, are to be found in their annals ; and in reference to those annals, lately published, a late eminent English writer, Sir James Mackintosh, says, "The chronicles of Ireland, written in the Irish language, from the second century to the landing of Henry Plantagenet, possess the fullest evidences of exactness. The Irish nation are thus entitled to boast that they possess genuine history several centuries more ancient than any other European nation possesses in its present spoken language." And, viewing them in this aspect, — a colony, as it were, of ancient Celts transferred from antiquity into our immediate presence, with the same blood in their veins, the same physical characteristics, and speaking the same language as those who existed, even before the time of Solomon, — we can understand the enthusiasm of the writer who exclaims ;

"I know not how it may strike others, but to me this subject is full of interest. How is it to be accounted for, that of all the numberless millions that must have passed from Asia into Europe, under the general name of Celt, everywhere but in Ireland they should have been supplanted by other tribes, their national existence obliterated, and their language for ever blotted out ? It would be impossible to solve this query, but upon the supposition of a native vigor of character in the Irish, as well physical as moral, which perpetuates itself from age to age, resisting and overcoming the influences of time. And, if this be true, does it not imply something of greatness in the native Irish stock ; something distinct, peculiar, and worthy of our respect in the Irish people ? I confess that I cannot look upon even the rudest specimen of these people, that we see among us, but as associated with these views. Ignorant and unlettered they certainly are, superstitious they may be ; but I can never look on them with indifference or contempt. I must ever regard them as allied to the memory of ancient days ; as bringing antiquity, living and breathing, into our presence ; and, above all, however shadowed by the degradation that is entailed by slavery, as possessing, in common with their nation, the inherent elements of greatness." — *The Token for* 1841, p. 85.

The article, from which the foregoing extract is made, formed, as we learn from a note, the substance of two lec-

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tures, originally prepared by Mr. Goodrich, at the request of the committee of the "Franklin Lectures," in Boston, and delivered before that association at "the Temple," in that city; and the lectures were subsequently delivered on several occasions in New York or elsewhere. We cannot speak too highly of the good spirit which pervades this whole composition, evidently the result of much reading and of mature reflection. Independent of the gratifying evidence it affords that this subject, of Ireland and the Irish, has begun to attract the proper sort of attention among our literary and scientific men, it is really cheering to find the learned editor of an Annual devoting one half of his volume to an essay of sterling value and full of important information, to the exclusion of the ephemera that generally flutter in the pages of such publications. We shall have occasion, by and by, to quote further from Mr. Goodrich's article; and we are, in the mean time, glad to record, that, at the late "Commencement" of Harvard College, the subject of one of the exercises of the students who graduated on that occasion was an "Essay on the Irish Character." The young gentleman who recited this essay, before a large audience composed of some of the most enlightened citizens of the country, was the son of one of the Judges of the State; and we can bear witness to the applause warmly given to the speaker, certainly not more on account of the merits of his spirited production, than from sympathy with its cordial sentiments towards our Irish fellow citizens.

"When we send our glance back through a long line of centuries," exclaimed this generous youth, "each of them swelling the mighty heap of Ireland's wrongs, our prejudices relent. Our sympathies are awakened for the unhappy beings whose wretched aspect and reckless bearing have at first been so repulsive. We fancy there is more than meets the eye beneath their rough exterior. If we take the friendless exile by the hand, no angry scowl repels our glance, no sullen murmur strikes upon the ear; but a smile of confidence lights up the stranger's haggard face. He tells us of the old country which it cost him tears to leave. He paints the hopeless misery into which he was sunk, and of which he seems to stand before us as the visible emblem; and we wonder, not that he is no better than he is, but that he has come out clear as he has from the furnace fires of such affliction. From century to century the fetters of a moral slavery have left a

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festering wound, and corrupted the dignity of his nature. But whatever faults may be charged on the Irishman, his worst enemy dare not call him selfish. The virtues of hospitality and generosity cast light upon the gloom of his desolation, like flowers springing from a heap of mouldering ruins. Misery seems only a nursery for the growth of his fine sympathies. And laugh as you may at the humble *shantee*, you shall learn within its walls lessons of magnanimity and self-denial not to be found in the mansions of the wealthy and refined. In one word, the sin of the Irishman is ignorance, — the cure is Liberty. Let her but come, to wipe from the Emerald gem the dust which for ages has obscured it, and to place it sparkling in the sunlight ; let her wake again the lyre that trembled to the touch of Emmett, Curran, and Grattan, and in the light of her pathway shall be seen Education, to break the fetters of the slumbering soul, and call out its hidden glories ! And will not the heart of America beat with that of Ireland, as she hails the new dawning light ? Yes, Ireland, America's eye is on thee. Show us, then, in thy new career thine own native character, purged from the dross with which the long night of oppression has darkened it. In the noble generosity of thy sons, put to shame our narrow, selfish, worldly maxims. Show us a race of whole-hearted men."

Ireland has strong claims on the good will and affection of America. Let it be remembered, that, when the war of Revolution broke out, the inhabitants of Belfast, in the north of Ireland, were the very first European community, — the Court of France does not come under that classification, — that gave open expression to their good wishes, for the American cause. Public meetings, quickly following the first, were held throughout the country to encourage the transatlantic resistance ; and, as the contest went on, Ireland, catching inspiration from the example of the New World, took that noble attitude of resistance which gained for her in 1782, under the guidance of Grattan and his patriot associates, the legislative and commercial independence which was destined to so short a life. But from that period of a common sympathy, — which ought not to be affected by success or failure, — Irishmen have never ceased to look towards America with ardent affection ; loving the people who won the freedom for which they vainly sighed and valiantly fought ; and regarding this country as the natural haven for hopes, too often shipwrecked in the tempest of hard fate that assails their native land.

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Any one who has ever travelled in Ireland, not merely with eyes to see her wretchedness, but also with ears to hear her aspirations, must have remarked the enthusiastic feeling that exists towards America among all classes save the Orange aristocrats. By the less elevated ranks, the small farmers, artisans, and peasantry, the United States are considered as a sort of half-way stage to Heaven, a paradise, whither some of the kindred or friends of almost every family have already repaired; and whence they receive accounts, that, even when unexaggerated or falling short of the truth, paint this new found home, in comparison with their own domestic misery, as the very *El Dorado* of Spanish romance.* Infants suck in, as it were, with their mothers' milk, this passionate admiration of the New World. They are cradled in eulogiums on its excellence. Its praises are the lullaby of the child. The boy is taught to venerate its greatness; and the man believes, talks of, and sighs for its far-off shores, with a fervid admiration that knows no bounds.

The poetic mind of the Irishman, his warm heart, his ambitious temperament all unite, to give the colors of enchantment to the fairy-land he pants for. The beauty, the affection, the glory he pictures to himself, form the rainbow arch of the new covenant, which Heaven seems to have made with the poor exile. Long before he trusts his fate upon the ocean, he sees America, in the visions of the night as well as in his day-dreams, more verdant than his own green fields, more fertile than the valleys, more sublime than the mountains. But, above all things, he reckons with too ardent security, on an ardor equal to his own, in the noble race with which he has peopled his fancied elysium. Often do his sentiments literally and unwittingly respond to the exclamation of Miranda, in "The Tempest":

> "How beautiful mankind is! O brave New World,
> That has such people in it!"

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* "The Irish, on their arrival in America, cannot believe their own eyes; they feel as though under a spell. They do not dare to describe, to their friends in Europe, the streams of milk and honey that flow through this promised land.

"An Irishman, who had recently arrived, showed his master a letter which he had just written to his family. 'But, Patrick,' said his master, 'why do you say that you have meat three times a week, when you have it three times a day?' 'Why is it?' replied Pat; 'it is because they would not believe me, if I told them so.'" — *Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States*, by Michael Chevalier. Boston. 1839.

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Every thing relating to the revolutionary struggle has a thrilling interest to the people of Ireland. It is not merely for the memory of their own countrymen, Montgomery and others, who heroically fell or conquered in the cause of freedom, that they retain regard. The name of Washington is held in a reverence without limit. Who can read the following anecdote, recorded by Mr. Hackett, the comedian, without a cordial longing to grasp the hand, and share the emotion, of such men as composed the audience of the Dublin theatre ?

"The first night of the performance of 'Rip Van Winkle,' when in the midst of the scene where he finds himself lost in amazement at the change of his native village, as well as of himself and everybody he meets, a person of whom he is inquiring mentions the name of Washington. Rip asks, 'Who is he ?' The other replies, 'What ! did you never hear of the immortal George Washington, the Father of his country ?' At these words, the whole audience from pit to gallery seemed to rise, and with shouting, huzzaing, clapping of hands, and stamping of feet, made the very building shake. These deafening plaudits continued some time, and wound up with three distinct rounds. To attempt to describe my feelings during such an unexpected thunder-gust of national enthusiasm, is utterly impossible. I choked, — the tears gushed from my eyes, — and I can assure you, it was by a great effort that I restrained myself from destroying all the illusion of the scene, by breaking the fetters with which the age and character of Rip had invested me, and exclaiming, in the fulness of my heart, 'God bless old Ireland ! ' "

That touching scene was, beyond all doubt, a fair specimen of the almost universal Irish sentiment, in regard to this country and to the founder of its greatness. That sentiment is, on numberless occasions, made evident, not in Ireland alone, but wherever Irishmen are to be found, in whatever quarter of the globe. It is in fact, unquestionable, that the Irishman looks upon America as the refuge of his race, the home of his kindred, the heritage of his children and their children. The Atlantic is, to his mind, less a barrier of separation between land and land, than is St. George's Channel. The shores of England are farther off, in his heart's geography, than those of New York or Massachusetts. Degrees of latitude are not taken into account, in the measurements of his enthusiasm. Ireland, — old as she is, and fond as he is

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of calling her so, — seems to him but a part and parcel of that great continent which it sounds, to his notions, unnatural to designate as *the new* world. He has no feeling towards America but that of love and loyalty. To live on her soil, to work for the public good, and die in the country's service, are genuine aspirations of the son of Erin, when he quits the place of his birth for that of his adoption. No nice distinctions of nationality, no cold calculation of forms, enter into his mind. *Exile* and *alien* are words which convey no distinct meaning to him. He only feels that he belongs to the country where he earns his bread. His birthright has hitherto been but a birthright of suffering. The instinct of naturalization is within his soul. And he cannot conceive that the ocean which he is crossing should be more powerful to deprive him of, than his own heart-yearnings are to secure to him, all the rights and privileges which that instinct seems to claim.

His first foot-print on the soil of the New World, is to him a virtual seal placed on the bond of his fidelity. The first breath of air he inhales is a cordial to his heart, for he knows it is the air of freedom. He looks round, in the consciousness of new-born dignity. He never before felt himself really a man; for the blight of petty proscription had, ever until now, hung over and around him. He never before knew the obligations of the word *allegiance*; for a host of small impediments stood between him and the object to which he owed it. Now he comprehends and acknowledges it. He feels himself to be identified with that to which his fealty is due. He considers himself an integral portion of the State. He is at once, in heart and soul, if not in form, a citizen.

And may it not here be asked, Is the man who thus comes into the country, — a part of it by impulse, a patriot ready made, — a fit object of doubt and odium? and might it not be more generous, just, and politic to meet half way his ingenuous views, to stretch out to him the hand of brotherhood, to join in the bond of fellowship which his heart has already ratified? Might not a fairer estimate of his character than that which generally prevails, and a higher trust in human nature itself, combine, and safely too, so as at once to invest him with the title he aspires to, and the rights which it confers, thus making him in reality what he believes himself to be, and giving him the best of all inducements to learn and uphold the real interests of the country he would thus belong to, and removing the dangerous chance of

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his being misled and imposed on by the temptations which induce the emigrant, *while an alien*, to give to a faction an adherence which is due to the commonwealth ?

This is, however, as will be seen, put merely hypothetically ; and is thrown out, rather to induce reflection than to provoke discussion. It may however serve as an index to the tenor of what is to follow, and to the opinions of the high authorities we mean to refer to, in practically treating the question of naturalization.

The expectations of the new comer, romantic rather than reasonable, are too often cruelly checked in the first moments of his arrival. He gives his hand, — and an Irishman's hand almost always has his heart in it, — to the designing persons by whom, from various motives, he is watched for and caught up ; but the cordiality of his grasp meets a cold return. He speaks in the fulness of sincerity ; but no voice responds in the same key. His uncouth air, his coarse raiment, his blunders, and his brogue are certainly unattractive or ludicrous, to those who consider him only as a machine for doing the rough work of the State, or as an object of political speculation. The Irishman soon sees the fact of his position, for he is sensitive and shrewd beyond most men ; and we can well imagine how keen and how bitter is his annoyance. No man is sooner than an Irishman thrown back on his own feelings. The recoil is in proportion to the exuberance ; and in the same degree in which they are originally warm and social, they become morose and gloomy when thus repelled. His natural gayety overcomes this effect at times, or enables him to conceal what pains him so acutely. But the inward utterance of his disappointment is deeply echoed in his heart ; and he is too prone to resent, or even avenge, a wrong done to his feelings, which, did it affect his interests alone, he would despise. "*Tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.*"

By a rapid transition, on finding himself slighted and despised, he assumes the offensive, becomes violent, throws himself into the open arms of faction ; drinks, swears, joins in riots ; and, fancying that the hostile outpourings, by which a "party" assails him, speak the sense of the nation at large, he withdraws his proffered sympathy ; and, seeing that he is stigmatized as an alien, — for he has learned the meaning of the word, — he falls into the circle of his fellow-countrymen, becomes one of the mass of ignorance and

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intemperance, which disgraces our cities, and is soon, in fact, little better than a colonist, in the land which he sought with that kind of reverence that propels a repentant sinner into the comforting bosom of the church.

Yet, though baffled and disappointed, the ardent love of liberty rarely deserts the Irish heart, and it as rarely sinks into despair. Few of the exiles return to the old country. They, in a vast majority of cases, hold fast, and work their way. Nor do they cease to love America. But they love it now, not with the holy rapture of an abstract passion, but with a practical and business-like regard, as the birth-place of their children, and the field for the exercise of their own patient industry.

Thus, in the very best aspect of his fate, the immigrant drags on, for five long and weary years, in a probation of drudgery, — which, to those who do not suffer it, seems a mere span, — in a state of manifest inferiority to the citizen, who employs, makes a tool of, or, perhaps, bribes and buys him, for purposes of electioneering debasement. This cannot, certainly, increase the alien's self-esteem, or make him more fit for the exercise of a citizen's privileges. It must, indeed, add to his sense of degradation. Year after year he becomes, no doubt, more and more acquainted with the workings of party machinery. But those years do not teach him to love the country one whit more than he loved it on the day of his landing; and he has not that pride of conscious respectability and value, which leads the real freeman, however lowly his station, to take a wide and exalted view of public affairs. The longer the alien remains in this chrysalis state, may he not become the less suited for the enjoyment of the light and air, when he breaks his shell, expands his wings, and flies into his new political existence? Cramped, narrowed, and prejudiced, he becomes immersed in the low tricks of the intriguers, who have pounced upon and beguiled him; and more irritated and angry against those who, independent of strict party grounds, are adverse to him on those of his birth alone. A deep-rooted sense of wrong, and a hatred to those who do it, are nourished in his heart and instilled into his children; and a large portion of the population is thus, for one generation at least, alienated from the rest, and driven, as it were, into a second exile from all the social advantages of citizenship. The theory

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of the naturalization laws of course is, that the five years shall be years of instruction for the duties of citizenship; but, in the actual want of such instruction, is not the effect of the delay too likely to be such as we have described? Yet, with all this, the Irishman can hardly be made a bad or a disloyal citizen, or prevented from embracing the first opportunity to serve the country, as is proved by the readiness with which he enlists in the naval or military service.

In thus stating impartially, and with a thorough knowledge of Irish character, the effects produced on great numbers of emigrants from that country, we are by no means making a reproach, on the score of feeling, or want of feeling, against those who are ignorant of the history of Ireland, who know the character of the people only through the medium of these very exiles, and who have had no means of scanning the hearts which beat under so coarse an exterior. Every candid Irishman, who understands any portion of human nature beyond his own, will admit, that his over-ardent temperament is very likely to beget suspicion, as to his sincerity, in those who do not partake of it in any thing like the same degree; while his familiar, off-hand, free-and-easy manners are little in accordance with the reserved and cautious habits of the majority of the American people. Taking things for granted is the curse of the generous-hearted, in all climes and at all times. No one suffers more from this too common mistake, than the Irish emigrant, who, when he finds himself deceived in his sanguine estimate of men and things, makes no allowance for those who fall below his fancied standard, and who look askance, or stand aloof, from his companionship. But this is not altogether fair on his part.

How can a cool New-Englander, for example, who has never experienced the misfortunes, or lived under a state of things, which make a man long for another country in preference to his own, — whose only idea of emigration is connected with money-making, without a single tinge of sentiment, — the "far west" of whose imaginings brings no notions but those of forests, prairies, floods, swamps, alligators, and rattlesnakes, — how can such a man place implicit faith in the tear-filled eye, the glowing cheek, the overflowing discourse of a stranger from beyond the ocean,

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who, on touching the soil of that western world in which he has come to seek *his* fortune, professes to love it like the land of his birth, talks to the inhabitants as brothers, and assumes an interest in the welfare, and a pride in the greatness, of the country, as though it were, to all intents and purposes, his own? Is it not excusable, if the unconvinced Yankee looks and listens with caution to this new comer, or even if he considers him a cheat, calls his warm talk "blarney," and sets him down as in interloper?

Such sentiments as these once excited, it is difficult to dislodge them from the mind. And when the transition in the feelings of the foreigner, arising from his discovery of those sentiments, has fairly set in, a reciprocal tone of dislike and acrimony is sure to be the result. It is needless to point out how much this unfortunate state of misunderstanding is fostered, by taunts and jibes on the one hand, and by the angry spirit of disappointment superinduced on the other.

The fierce zeal with which the Irishmen, who have acquired the rights of citizenship, enter into political strife, cannot fail to excite extreme jealousy in those native partisans, who see themselves outstripped in violence, and robbed of their privileges of railing and rioting. Even the more sober and tolerant cannot endure the boisterous patriotism of those sons of Erin, nor feel quite at ease on seeing that those, who had been a few years previously the despised subjects of a foreign sovereign, should now have acquired, as it appears to them, *per saltum*, an equality of rights with the offspring of home-born republicans, who gained those glorious privileges at the cost of their lives and fortunes, in a long and doubtful struggle.

This particular cause of dissatisfaction, is common to persons of every station throughout the country. Then comes a particular discontent on the part of the working classes of the community against those hardy laborers from beyond seas, who come into the market, to do more for less money, to live in a way which lowers the general respectability of the working man, thus causing at once a decrease in wages, and in the consideration accorded by the employer to the laborer, and doing a double mischief on the score of their profits and their pride. They know not, or probably give small credit if they do know them, to the motives which induce the Irish

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laborer in America, to undergo privations, that in many cases, make his condition little better than it was at home. But when it is, as it ought to be, widely understood that the Irishman braves reproach and contumely, and denies himself many of the enjoyments his earnings might procure, that he may be able to remit a portion of them to his suffering relatives in the old country, how lofty is his moral elevation; how does his pious attachment to his distant "kith and kin" give assurance of his fidelity to the new relations he has made for himself in his new home! How often is the fable of "The Cock and the Jewel," acted over in this country, as well as in all other parts of the world! What numberless instances occur of worth despised and merit trampled down, from ignorance of their value, or because they are found in ignoble places!

The naturalization of foreigners has been, from the most ancient times, a point of considerable jealousy with all civilized countries. The old Greek states indulged the most narrow views on this subject. Intermarriage was forbidden between citizens of the various republics, and no person was allowed to hold land within the territory of any state but his own. When the Olynthian republic introduced a more liberal and beneficial policy, it was considered as a portentous innovation.* And, as a most remarkable stretch of gratitude to the Athenians, for their assistance in the war against Philip of Macedon, the Byzantines infringed their ordinary strictness, and granted by law, to their allies, the right of intermarriage with their citizens, and the power of purchasing and holding lands in the Byzantine territories.

In the palmy days of Athens herself, the privilege of citizenship was deemed a very distinguished favor, and could only be obtained by the decree of two successive assemblies of the people; and the laws enacted the penalty of death to any stranger who intruded his voice into their legislative proceedings.

The Romans of the republic were noted for their peculiar jealousy of the *jus civitatis*, or rights of a citizen. In the time of Augustus, the same anxiety existed to keep the people untainted of foreign blood. † And it was not until

* Mitford's *History of Greece*, Vol. V. p. 9.
† Suetonius *de Aug.* § 40.

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the reign of Caracalla, that, for purposes of a more extended taxation, the freedom of the city was communicated to the whole Roman world. *

From those remote days to the present time, conflicting opinions and contradictory enactments have prevailed on the subject of the naturalization and alien laws; and there is, perhaps, no other, of equal importance to the well-being of states, which is, at this day, involved in so much doubt and delicacy. It is not necessary that we should enter at large into the consideration of a matter, which has called forth much reasoning and variety of argument from some of the most distinguished jurists of both hemispheres. The main foundation of all legislation or usage on the subject, seems to be, that almost all civilized nations admit the principle of expatriation. Cicero regarded it as one of the firmest bases of Roman liberty, that the citizen had the privilege to stay, or renounce his residence, in the state at pleasure. "*Ne quis invitus civitate mutetur; neve in civitate maneat invitus. Hæc sunt enim fundamenta firmissima nostræ libertatis, sui quemque juris et retinendi et dimittendi esse dominum.*" † And the principal modern writers on public law, as Grotius, Puffendorf, Wyckefort, and Vattel, have spoken generally, though perhaps rather loosely, in favor of the right of a subject to emigrate and abandon his native country, unless there be some positive restraint by law, or he be at the time in possession of a public trust, or unless his country be in distress, or in war, or stand in need of his assistance.

It is the doctrine of the English Common Law, that natural-born subjects owe an allegiance, which is intrinsic and perpetual, and which cannot be devested by any act of their own. However repugnant this may be to our notions of the natural liberty of mankind, or however inconsistent with the principle declared by some of the State Constitutions in this country, yet, as the question has never been settled by judicial decision, and as the judges of the Supreme Court have discovered much embarrassment in its consideration, it seems admitted, that until some legislative regulations on the subject are prescribed, the rule of the Common Law must prevail; its only relaxation being in the case of persons who for commercial purposes may acquire the rights of a citizen of an-

* Gibbon, Vol. I. p. 267. † *Orat. pro L. C. Balbo*, c. 13.

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other country, the place of domicil determining the character of a party as to trade.

The naturalization laws of the United States have been subject to great and frequent variation. The terms upon which any alien, being a free white person,* can be naturalized, are prescribed by the Acts of Congress of the 14th of April, 1802, ch. 28; the 3d of March, 1813, ch. 184; the 22d of March, 1816, ch. 32; the 26th of May, 1824, ch. 186; and the 24th of May, 1828, ch. 106.

Previously to the first of those acts, which has fixed the main point of the term of probationary residence in the country, it fluctuated considerably. In 1790, only two years' previous residence was required. In 1795, the period was enlarged to five years; and, in 1798, to fourteen years. In 1802, it was reduced back to five years, where it yet remains.

The alien is required to declare on oath before a State court, being a court of record, with a seal and clerk, and having Common Law jurisdiction, or before a Circuit or District Court of the United States, or before a clerk of either of the said courts, two years at least before his admission, his intention to become a citizen, and to renounce his allegiance to his own sovereign; the latter stipulation being admitted by the best jurists in the country to be grossly inconsistent with the generally received doctrine of intrinsic and perpetual allegiance. The prescribed declaration need not be previously made, if the alien resided here before the 18th of June, 1812, and has since continued to reside here; nor if he be a minor under twenty-one years of age, and shall have resided in the United States three years next preceding his arrival to majority. It is sufficient, that it be made at the time of his admission, and that he then declare on oath, and prove to the satisfaction of the court, that, for three years next preceding, it was his *bonâ fide* intention to become a citizen, and then the five years' residence, including the three years of his minority, will entitle him to admission as a citizen, on complying with the other requisites of the law. At the time of

* The Act of Congress confines the description of aliens capable of naturalization to "free white persons." It is presumed that this excludes the inhabitants of Africa and their descendants; but it may become a question, to what extent persons of mixed blood are excluded, and what shades and degrees of mixture of color disqualify an alien from application for the benefits of the act of naturalization.

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his admission his country must be at peace with the United States, and he must, before one of those courts, take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and likewise on oath *renounce and abjure his native allegiance.* He must, at the time of his admission, satisfy the court, by other proof than his own oath, that he has resided five years at least within the United States, and one year, at least, within the State where the court is held; and if he shall have arrived after the peace of 1815, his residence must have been continued for five years next preceding his admission, without his having been at any time during the five years out of the territory of the United States. He must satisfy the court, that during that time he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well-disposed to the good order and happiness of the same. He must at the same time renounce any title or order of nobility, if any he hath. The law provides, that children of persons duly naturalized, being minors at that time, shall, if dwelling in the United States, be deemed citizens. It is further provided, that, if any alien shall die after his declaration, and before actual admission as a citizen, his widow and children shall be deemed citizens.

A person thus duly naturalized becomes entitled to all the privileges and immunities of natural-born subjects, except that a residence of seven years is requisite to enable him to hold a seat in Congress, and no person except a natural-born citizen is eligible to the office of governor in some of the States, or to that of President of the United States.*

We cannot enumerate the various enactments in the several States of the Union, which regulate the particular rights and privileges of aliens or foreign-born citizens. Great toleration and latitude of construction prevail in some, while extreme rigor formerly existed in others. Before the adoption of the present Constitution, the power of naturalizing resided in the several States; and the constitution of New York, as it was originally passed, required all persons born out of the United States to take an oath, on being naturalized, abjuring all foreign allegiance in all matters *ecclesiastical* as

* An able historical review of the principal discussions in the federal courts on this important subject in American jurisprudence, is to be found in Chancellor Kent's *Commentaries*, Vol. II. 3d New York Edit. Part iv., Sect. xxv.

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well as civil. This was intended to exclude the Roman Catholics, who acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. It was law in the beginning of the last century, that every Jesuit and Popish priest who should continue in the colony after a given day, should be condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and, if he broke prison and escaped, he should, when retaken, be put to death. Mr. Smith, in his "History of New York," (page 111,) declares his opinion, that the law (as well as the punishment) should be perpetual. As late as 1753, the legislature of Virginia passed an act placing Popish recusants under the most oppressive disabilities. It should not however be forgotten, that the charter of Rhode Island, of 1663, declared, that "no person within the colony, at any time thereafter should be in any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, that do not actually disturb the peace of the colony." And, the Catholic planters of Maryland having already, in 1649, declared by law, that "no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be molested in respect of their religion," they procured to their adopted country the distinguished praise of being the first of the American States in which toleration was established by law; and, while the Puritans were persecuting their Protestant brethren in New England, and the Episcopalians retorting the same severity on the Puritans in Virginia, the Catholics, against whom the others were combined, formed in Maryland a sanctuary, where all might worship and none might oppress, and where even Protestants sought refuge from Protestant intolerance.* New Jersey and Carolina followed the bright examples just quoted; and Pennsylvania, under the auspices of its celebrated founder, went to the most large and liberal extent, declaring, that "no men on earth had power or authority to rule over men's consciences in the concernments of religion;" and that "no persons, acknowledging a Deity and living peaceably in society, should be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion."

It appears from these "illustrious examples," as they are justly called by Chancellor Kent, in his "Commentaries," that various portions of this country became, even in its infant state, asylums for the enjoyment of the principles of civil and

* See Grahame's *History of the Rise and Progress of the United States.*

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religious liberty, to the persecuted votaries of those principles from every part of Europe.

And such surely was the great design of Providence in the formation and fashioning of this glorious continent, and in leaving its discovery to a period when the day-break of literature and science shone on a race of men, wise enough to comprehend the blessings of such a place of refuge, and learned enough to improve its advantages; so that, when ill-fortune, or the wrong-doing of wicked rulers, in the old world, drove them from their natural home, they had one ready made for their exigencies, and of ample scope for all comers from generation to generation. Nor must the justice of Heaven be arraigned, because poverty and suffering exist in Europe, wildernesses and desolation in America. A wise beneficence has so ordained, that misery there should impel population here; and that the wilds of the New World should bring out the poor and not the rich for their redemption. For, hard-working men, tried in the furnace of ill-fortune, are the fitting stock from which to people a new world. A striking passage in Carlyle's "Miscellanies," free from his usual burlesque style, pays a fine tribute to the value of labor; and another, of plain but powerful reasoning, is to be found in a celebrated work of a living philosopher, which might be quoted as an apt illustration of the analogy between the value of physical suffering and the moral uses of adversity.*

Every philanthropist that lives must rejoice, that such a harbour of safety for the oppressed of the earth exists, as is to be found in the vast countries upon whose outermost verge our Atlantic cities stand. And, while nature itself and the force of things invite hitherward all men who can improve their civil or religious condition, how strange and deplorable is it, that societies should be formed in those very cities, so many social barriers against the primal necessity of America's actual condition! Looking at what has been already done by the aid of foreign labor, the great public works of our cities, our canals, railroads, and indeed every enterprise of physical power, and seeing what yet remains to be accomplished before this continent can have fulfilled its destiny, the interruption of immigration would be an actual decree against improvement, — a ban on civilization, — a fiat for the perpet-

* *The Constitution of Man*, by George Combe, 8th American Edition, p. 286.

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ual existence of the wilderness, and for the everlasting establishment of savage life. But not more impossible was it for the despot king of old to stem the rising sea, than it is for any combination now to stop the living tide of emigration that rolls from the shores of the Old World, following the course which nature itself points out, across that ocean over which the wanderers are piloted by the joint instincts of self-preservation and love of happiness. Statistical details are not easily procured, to give, with any approach to accuracy, a statement of the increase of emigration from Europe. It has, however, been officially ascertained, that the number of foreign passengers who arrived at the port of New York alone, from the first of January to the first of November, in the year just closed, a period of ten months, is 58,000. That fact may startle even those whom it does not frighten. But, — let it act as it may on the hopes or fears of our naturalized or native population, —

"The cry is still, 'They come!'"

And come they will, with bounding hearts and lofty aspirations; and, however it may affect or disturb those who oppose, from principle or prejudice, this crowding influx of foreigners,

"nought now can change
Their nature, or revoke the high decree
Unchangeable, eternal, which ordained
Their freedom."

But it is, nevertheless, true, that a party is organized, and its organs fully established and in actual operation, in several of our chief cities, with the avowed object of throwing back upon the Old World, if not the millions who have already arrived in the New, at least the hundreds of thousands who are at this moment standing expectant on the European shores, waiting for circumstances or a wind, — as the birds of passage whose instinct points out their congenial resting-place across the waste of waters. The avowed object of this short-sighted party is the repeal of what they stigmatize as "the odious and destructive laws of naturalization now in existence." They say they are "determined to enter the lists with renewed energy and increased hope." "We have waited long enough," is their cry; "we have already given a sufficient precedence to party, and we will now assert the claims of country. Let every American who loves her, do the

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same, and we shall soon see her redeemed, regenerated, disenthralled. But let us be divided on this most vital of all questions, *and she will fall an easy prey to the stranger.*"—*Native American*, Sunday, Nov. 8.

We place no note of admiration, — or of astonishment,— after the words we have put in Italics; but it would be difficult to express our surprise at the sentiment they embody, firmly believing, as we do, in the sincerity of the writer and of those to whose sympathies he speaks.

"An easy prey to the stranger." Had we indeed been in the perilous crisis here assumed, — had a foreign army touched our frontiers, — had hordes of aristocrats come upon us with their corrupting blandishments of rank and title, an invasion far worse to this community than the scourge of fire and sword, — we could understand the appeal of the "Native American," albeit we might not come into the same category. But, when we know that "the stranger" here denounced is the embodied mass of foreign industry that clears away our forests, tills our fields, works on our wharves, and forms one of the main features of our national strength and prosperity, we lament, while we marvel at, the fatal mistake, which makes a body of ardent patriots labor so hard to produce that "division" they deprecate so much, and raise a bitter enemy in the very heart of the land. We trust that the good sense of the community at large will discountenance this tendency to mischief, now that the nation requires that moral force which union alone supplies, to carry out the great purposes of domestic weal and general civilization.

Let it be remembered, that our late political revolution,— mighty in all its movements, and important in its results at home, — must also have the effect of reconciling us, as it were, to the doubts and apprehensions of the world at large. The stability of our institutions is now beyond all cavil established. No sneers, no fears can further impose on Europe, or persuade it that we were in a state of anarchy, and on the verge of social ruin. In the peaceful manner in which such a change has been accomplished, we have set a great example to the popular governments, and given a fearful shock to the despotisms. Never, since the days of our "great rebellion," has this country taken and maintained so proud a stand. And are we now to show a spectacle of disunion, and strive to make the edifice of our glory totter, before the cement is dry

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which should consolidate it? Let us see on what possible grounds this preposterous and suicidal attempt is to be made.

The authorities conspicuously quoted for the purpose of raising this bugbear alarm at foreign influence, are Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. High ones, no doubt, — oracles, almost, respectively to various shades of political parties in the Union.

"History and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of a republican government," says Washington, most truly, in his memorable "Farewell Address."

"Foreign influence is a Grecian horse to the republic. We cannot be too careful to exclude its entrance," exclaims Madison.

"I hope we may find some means in future of shielding ourselves from foreign influence, political, commercial, or in whatever form it may be attempted," were the words of Jefferson. But it would not be fair to hold him responsible for the half-expressed and hasty utterance of a sympathy with the wish of Silas Deane, "that there were an ocean of fire between this and the Old World"!

But taking at their full value the opinions so plainly expressed by these three great sages of our revolutionary history, — and joining, as every lover of his country will join, heart and soul, in the sentiment that deprecates the introduction of foreign *influence* among us, — what living man of common sense and common candor will construe it to bear upon the admission of Irish or German laboring men to the privileges of citizenship, after the term of probation prescribed by the laws? When Washington "most devoutly wished," (to use his own emphatic expression in his letter to Mr. Morris, dated "White Plains, July 24th, 1778,") "that we had not a single foreigner among us but the Marquis Lafayette," did he mean any thing beyond the annoyance he experienced from the troublesome claims, for promotion and emolument, of the French and German adventurers who crowded the army? And are these patriot sentiments of repugnance against the influence of foreign monarchs, and the more fatal and insidious evils of aristocratical corruption, to be distorted into a hostility against the peasantry, the artisans, the manufacturers, or the agriculturists of Europe, bringing out with them the skill and industry which alone were wanting to

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make America what it now is, and without which it never could have reached its present preëminence! Little could those high authorities have then imagined, that their words of wisdom would ever have been inscribed on the banners which they now make so conspicuous, but which, perverted from their true sense as they are, they cannot be said to adorn.

But what were the real, general notions on this important subject of some of our most eminent men, differing in many other points of political opinion? A memorable debate took place on the question of naturalization in the Federal Convention, on Monday, August 13th, 1789, on the motion of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Randolph, to strike out "seven years," and insert "four years," as the requisite term of citizenship, to qualify for the House of Representatives.

Mr. Williamson moved to insert "nine years," instead of seven, and observed, truly, but not quite relevantly to the class of men, who, by industry and in time, might reach the honor of being raised to a seat in Congress; "*Wealthy* emigrants do more harm by their luxurious examples, than good by the money they bring with them."

Colonel Hamilton, meeting this truism by a broader view of the question, said; "The advantage of encouraging foreigners was obvious and admitted;" and he moved that the section be so altered, as to require merely "citizenship and inhabitancy," as the qualifications.

Mr. Madison seconded the motion. "He wished to invite foreigners of merit and republican principles among us. *America was indebted to emigration for her settlements and prosperity.* That part of America which had encouraged them most, had advanced most rapidly in population, agriculture, and the arts."

Dr. Franklin said; "When foreigners, after looking about for some other country in which they can obtain more happiness, give a preference to ours, it is a proof of attachment which ought to excite our confidence and affection." And he declared himself opposed to all restrictions on naturalization.*

Washington was President at this period, and Jefferson was in France. But the opinions of the latter on the question then debated are proved by a passage in his letter to

* For the whole of this debate, see the *Madison Papers*, Vol. III.

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Kosciusko on a subsequent occasion, when, speaking of the salutary labors of the first Congress during his first presidency, he says ; " They are opening the doors of hospitality to the fugitives from the oppressions of other countries," — in allusion to the repeal of the retrograde enactment of 1798, which had changed the term of probationary residence from five years to fourteen, in pursuance of a strong recommendation in his own message.

But, if still stronger proof is required of Jefferson's sentiments on this point, it is to be found, and will be reverted to to the end of time, in that immortal document, the " Declaration of Independence," drawn up by his own hand. Enumerating the acts of tyranny of King George the Third against the colonies, he exclaims ; " He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose, *obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners*, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new apportionments of lands."

Further testimony can scarcely be required, beyond this great act of attainder against the sovereign, to show the impolicy, to say no more, of any such " obstructions " to the evident design of God himself; or to prove that the mind must be narrow, — granting the purposes to be honest, — of those, who suppose that this "brave New World " was made for the sole use of those, who chance to be born on its soil. It seems a mockery, when the exclusionists declare, that they would allow " the industrious and enterprising foreigners to enjoy the fruits of their earnings under their own vine and fig-tree ; " but that " the son of the bondwoman should not be heir with the son of the freewoman, in other words, that they have no title to equal privileges with us in our glorious heritage, and that, in according them every privilege short of the elective franchise, we are acting *with great and munificent liberality*." *

We are here disposed to ask, if any " party " can really exist in this country so forgetful of the past, so insensible to the present, so indifferent to the future, as to wish to confine any set of free men, in any country on earth, to the privilege which is conceded to the negro slave ; ay, to the very beast of burthen ; of lying down in idleness and repose, after

* The *Spirit of Seventy-six*, Nov. 7th, 1840.

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the work of the day is done. Or can any portion of a thinking community expect, that a class could be found, in the stir and bustle of this free country, to abjure the right of ever giving a vote for the representative, whose duty it is to pass laws to protect the lives of themselves and their children, the property they have purchased, and the institutions of which they form a part?

We might accumulate living authorities, in reprobation of this "munificent liberality"! But this cannot be requisite. The thing sought is as impossible as the arguments used in support of it are absurd. We shall content ourselves with one quotation more. It is from the speech of William Henry Harrison, President elect of the United States, delivered before a large meeting of the people, at Lancaster, in the State of Ohio, in the month of October last.

"I am accused, fellow-citizens," said he, "of entertaining unfriendly feelings towards foreigners, who emigrate to this country with a view of becoming citizens, and of a desire to throw obstructions in the way of their naturalization. Nothing can be more false than this charge. . . . . I have been more than forty years before my country, and my votes and my speeches are a true index of my opinions, on this as well as other important subjects. If those, who thus accuse me, will point out a single vote, or any expression of mine, which can in the least support this assertion, I will agree; that I am bound to come forward and explain. But they cannot do this. No such vote was ever given by me; no such opinion expressed. On the contrary, I have ever felt the warmest sympathy with those who have fled here, from the old world, for refuge; and I have always given my support, whether in the national councils or as a private citizen, to all the laws which have passed to render their condition better, *or their naturalization* MORE EASY."

But lest this extract from a newspaper report may be spurious, or partially incorrect, we put on record here the following frank and generous reply, from the same distinguished individual, to a respectful letter written to him by Mr. Francis J. Grund, of Philadelphia, asking his sentiments on this mooted question.

"*North Bend, September 25th*, 1840.

"Through the whole course of my political life, I am satisfied, that no sentence ever fell from my lips, which could be construed into an unfriendly feeling to the Europeans who

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have emigrated hither, to enjoy the advantages which our free institutions afford, or a wish to extend the period, which is fixed by the existing laws, for their full admission to the rights of citizenship."

Foreigners and natives may thus be alike satisfied, that, during the four years' Presidency of General Harrison, no innovation, of the nature threatened, has a chance of being attempted, to any extent, or with any support that would encourage an agitation of the question.

What, then, should be done, in the mean time, by every lover of the country and of the various classes of its population, to improve and consolidate the well-being of each, so as to insure the satisfaction and happiness of the whole? Nothing, most assuredly, could tend more effectually to this great object, than the clearing away of prejudices, softening asperities, and setting the different opposing parties right with respect to the characters and objects of others. This paper was undertaken with that view, in as far as the Irish in America came under observation; and a few rapid pages of advice, rather than dictation, will close our labors in connexion with the subject.

It must be admitted, that the Irish have to encounter considerable prejudices in this country, — no matter from what causes arising, — in almost every section of the Union, though in different degrees. In some places they are openly and even violently expressed. In others, the feeling is slightly visible on the surface of common intercourse; but there is no observing Irishman, perhaps, who has not had, on some occasion or other, cause to notice the annoying fact. It must be remarked, that some of the different portions of this vast Union are much more congenial than others to the habits and feelings of Irishmen. And all seem to agree, that New England, taken on the whole, is the hardest soil for an Irishman to take root and flourish in. The settled habits of the people, the untainted English descent of the great majority, discrepancies of religious faith and forms, and a jealousy of foreign intermixture of any kind, all operate against those, who would seek to engraft themselves on the Yankee stem, in the hope of a joint stock of interest or happiness. The bulk of Irish emigration to the Western States is comprised chiefly of agricultural laborers. Rigidly excluded, in former times, from improving, by education,

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his acknowledged quickness of intellect, the emigrant of this class has been hitherto fitted only for the performance of offices requiring mere muscular exertion. Without any of those incentives to improvement possessed by the educated man, the beings we now speak of were doomed to a hopeless state of social inferiority. Their incapacity to perform any work requiring the application of intellectual power, marked them out as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The high wages and good living, in comparison to what they had been accustomed to in Europe, ought to have given them more comforts, and raised them in the moral scale. But the pernicious addiction to whiskey-drinking, common to those poor people, and the highly reprehensible habit of allowing it *to them in large quantities, by the contractors for some of* the public works, have, until lately, kept them in a state of mere brute enjoyment, so to call their degraded condition.* This is the true source of every excess heretofore committed by Irishmen in this country. Goaded by the stimulus of ardent spirits, their natural excitability of temperament knows no bounds. The memory of their ancient feuds in the old country revived by some chance word, they rush into conflict with their fellow-countrymen, or, in the words (scarcely exaggerated) of the song,

"Get drunk, meet their friend, and for love knock him down;"

and present to the amazed, amused, but disgusted American spectators a scene unparalleled, except between tribes, in open warfare, of the savages on their borders.

These broils, happily of rare occurrence at present, tended much to lower the standard of the Irish character; but the improved deportment of those who have been long in the country, and the better description of emigrants who have of late left Ireland, decrease every day the chances of such disgraceful outbreaks; while the certainty of complete regeneration among the millions still in the old country, under the

* "I happened, a few days ago, to be on the line of a railroad in process of construction, where the labor was done by Irish new-comers. They are fed and lodged; and hear their bill of fare; — three meals a day, and at each meal plenty of meat and wheaten bread; coffee and sugar at two of those meals, and butter once a day. *In the course of the day from six to eight glasses of whisky are given them,* according to the state of the weather. Besides which they receive forty cents a day under the most unfavorable circumstances, often from sixty to seventy-five cents." — *Chevalier*, p. 108.

The italics in this passage are ours; and we hope, that many native Americans, who are disgusted with Irish degradation, will remark, and some mayhap will blush at it.

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miracle-working influence of their great living Apostle, is a guaranty for the moral worth of those who may hereafter come among us.

A deep and fatal error, — the main cause of which we have already adverted to, — among the immigrant Irish, is the energy with which they associate in clubs and societies, having laudable but mistaken views. The motto, "Union is strength," is, in this case, a fallacy of the worst kind, and affords a parallel to that other union at home, which has produced nothing but weakness and discord. The more an Irishman abstracts himself from those associations exclusively Irish, the greater is his chance of amalgamation with Americans, among whom his destiny is cast, and in whose fraternity he is, after all, to look for the meed of his industrious career. It may be safely observed, that those Irishmen, who have thriven best in the United States, are those who have taken an independent stand, and, separating themselves from all clannish connexions, have worked their way alone. Such a man was the late Mathew Carey, of Philadelphia, the record of whose life is, to his enterprising fellow-countrymen, an example more valuable than a legacy, and to his own memory a monument more honorable than a marble statue.

Among those native Irishmen, who are to be found running a course of similar respectability and success, should be mentioned Judge Porter, of Louisiana, who, after having sustained high offices in that State, attained and admirably adorned the dignity of Senator of the United States. Mr. James Boyd, of Boston, late a member of the legislature of Massachusetts, and the author of the admirable Essay, placed first on the list of publications which have served as a text for this article, may be mentioned as a living instance of the honorable standing, which industry and talent can attain for an Irishman, even in the least congenial atmosphere. In the "Address," just alluded to, this intelligent and respected citizen observes;

"One of the first duties, which we owe to ourselves and to the public, is to live on our own resources; to be, like the country of our adoption, INDEPENDENT, and to feel and to live as if we knew we were so, as far as reason and the nature of things permit. Absolute independence I do not of course mean. Such a state is neither attainable nor desirable. We must live by and for each other. Still there is a degree of

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comparative independence, so necessary in the present organization of society, that he, who does not possess it, can never be a free man in any country.

"Now I hold, that this state of comparative independence is within the reach of every Irishman, who comes amongst us, who is of sound body and mind. That state of things, which enables us to give something valuable to others in exchange for that which we receive from them, is the state of comparative independence; and, to qualify us for admission into this state, nature has made ample provision. She has given us strength to labor, and freedom of limb and person. Exercising these natural gifts, every man can do something that is valuable to some other. By judiciously using the compensation thus earned, we can put ourselves in possession of all the necessaries of life to begin with; and a prudent economy, and living within our means, will enable us, in time, to command the comforts and elegancies with which this country abounds. Possessing and enjoying, rationally, this comparative independence, we have a natural wealth, which, so long as we have health, no vicissitudes can take away." — p. 22.

This little pamphlet abounds with passages of the same good sense as the above; and it contains advice on most important subjects of conduct, from which the settler in America might frame a code of inestimable value.

The newspapers, published almost exclusively for Irish readers, and two of which we have more particularly referred to, contain a fund of spirited articles adapted to their particular views. It is to be lamented, that these papers, acting to a certain degree on the defensive, and driven to retaliation by a series of insulting attacks, are sometimes led into a style of recrimination that never adds strength to a good cause. They are also far too sectarian in their tone, — at least if their object is to circulate beyond the pale of a sect. To do honor to their country and its patriot leaders, to their faith and its pure apostles, is in the highest degree praiseworthy. But we do not think newspapers the fitting channel for polemical disputation. Great and valuable, however, is the service done to the cause of morals and true piety by the papers now before us, in the enforcement of that principle of TEMPERANCE, which is all in all for Ireland, and to the Irish here an unspeakable blessing. In the "Boston Pilot," of December 5th, is one of those announcements, so frequent of late in it and other prints. It is as follows;

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"The cause of temperance progresses gloriously throughout the whole country. There cannot be fewer than six thousand individuals, who have taken the pledge, in the New England States. In Lowell there are nearly two thousand; in Providence and its vicinity, upward of one thousand; in Salem and its vicinity, one hundred and thirty; and under the auspices of the Rev. Messrs. Wiley, Canavan, Fitzimons, Strain, Daly, O'Sullivan, Murphy, &c., a large number have enlisted under the temperance banner."

The "Pilot" then gives an enumeration, from which we find, that in the State of Pennsylvania 11,700 certificates have been issued by the society there. Delaware, Ohio, and Connecticut, it appears, on the same authority, are rapidly gaining converts to this great cause. But it is truly observed, — and "pity 'tis, 'tis true," — "As long as the State and chartered societies permit the contractors to give liquor to the workmen, we cannot expect to succeed effectually in liberating all from this disgraceful yoke."

As a contrast to this deplorable habit among contractors, we have recently seen a communication from a source of the highest respectability, which says;

"I recently conversed with a contractor engaged on the public works in the western part of the State of Pennsylvania, and he informed me, that the incorporation among the men working for him of some twenty or thirty of Father Mathew's disciples had exercised the most happy influence in promoting the reformation of some confirmed drunkards. He also assured me, that these worthy fellows would sooner part with life itself than violate the pledge."

And this latter assurance is happily borne out by advices from every quarter in which the pledge has been extensively administered.

Among the many virtuous Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, who have taken a distinguished part in urging on this moral reformation among their laboring fellow-countrymen, the Rev. James McDermott, of Lowell, stands conspicuous. His labors have been unceasing, his zeal untiring, and his success complete. This excellent priest addressed his flock on the subject of temperance, for the first time, on the 18th of June last. And between that period and the 23d of November, 1736 persons, comprising almost all the adult Irish of the city, have taken the pledge and *have kept it sacred.* We

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quote from a letter of the reverend gentleman, which we cannot in common justice to him, or the subject we have taken in hand, withhold from the public.

"I know not," observes Mr. McDermott, "of one habitual Irish drunkard in this place, and there are but very few who drink ardent spirits at all. *The temperate drinkers, as they style* themselves, begin to join our society, one by one. A change of circumstances and condition is the happy effect of change of habit. Their homes are now clean and comfortable, and they are happy and respected by the authorities and the citizens. To the officers and board, who are a light to this city and this land, we owe a debt of gratitude, which time can never cancel. In them I have always found protection and support, and a kind coöperation in all my humble efforts to promote the happiness of the flock intrusted to my spiritual charge. To our enlightened Board of Education, the Irish citizens are deeply indebted for an honest liberality in the appropriation of the school fund, and in the provision made for the education of their children. We have one grammar and five primary schools established exclusively for the Catholic children, supplied with competent and approved teachers, who get a liberal salary; and the committee acknowledge, that the children are as docile in their deportment, and as studious, as any in the country. The Irish here are sensible of their advantages, and are determined to deserve them. Let the other cities of the Union do as our own happy Lowell has done, and the next generation will never blush at the brotherhood of an Irish American."

No exhortation can be required in addition to this plain, yet powerful statement of facts, to cause this example of Lowell and its benevolent magistrates to be extensively followed.

If, as is now admitted by all rational observers, the domestic grievances of Ireland are to be redressed by her own sons, so in like manner should the elevation of the Irish character in this country be accomplished by the same agency. The encouragement given to temperance by the Irish Catholic priests is a point of manifest first-rate importance. But other auxiliary measures, in which they cannot take so prominent a part, might effect great good. For instance, the establishment of affiliated emigrant societies, scattered throughout the country, — not for the purpose common to some of the social clubs, of keeping alive exclusive sentiments, not in harmony with those of the inhabitants at large, — but for obtaining in-

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teresting statistical details, and correct information as to the best means of obtaining employment for new comers, and for distributing this information among them, so as to prevent their congregating, as they are so much in the habit of doing, in cities, where they obtain only a precarious subsistence, and to encourage their spreading themselves into the interior, with the assurance of permanent occupation and ultimate independence.

The formation of an intelligence society, of a character sufficiently comprehensive to enlist the sympathies of Irishmen of every social grade, and of every shade of religious and political sentiment, has been already proposed, and advocated with great energy and eloquence, by two Irish gentlemen, well known for their philanthropy and patriotism. The correspondence on the subject between these gentlemen, Mr. R. Hogan and Dr. W. J. McNevin, appeared in the New York "Freeman's Journal," of August 29th, 1840. The letters may be referred to as containing almost all that can be said on the general objects proposed. Dr. McNevin enters into detail on the attempts of another benevolent Irishman, Mr. Thomas O'Connor, of New York, to form a society similar to the one now, we hope, in the course of being organized; but this latter, though on the same basis, embraces, according to the plan of Mr. Hogan, a higher degree of moral elevation. The "Freeman's Journal" urges the adoption of this plan in several articles of great force, to the effect of the following extract;

"There is no possible enterprise, that could promote the happiness of the emigrant so much as the establishment of such a society. We are thoroughly persuaded of this from personal knowledge, as well as from the information of others. We have seen our fellow-countrymen thriving and happy in settlements in the interior of the country, where the industrious man would always be sure to draw from the earth the reward of his labor, and might feel assured, that, unless some extraordinary affliction should befall him, his children would never want at least the necessaries of life. This might be the condition of even the very poorest emigrant, who possesses industry, if he only knew where to go upon his arrival in this country; and we have often felt pained by the contrast which the destitute condition of many of our countrymen in this city presented, especially in the winter season. Again we call upon our benevolent fellow-countrymen to unite in this great work of philan-

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thropy, and prevent or remove a vast amount of moral, intellectual, and physical degradation."

In pointing out for public approbation the plan of these gentlemen in New York, and in expressing our confident hope that it will lead to similar attempts in the other Atlantic cities, we must not omit to notice another praiseworthy and a most successful effort to ameliorate the condition of the Irish in America. We allude to the agricultural colony, so to call it, established by Bishop Fenwick, of Massachusetts, near the town of Lincoln, and about eighty miles from Bangor, in the State of Maine. The design of this settlement would appear to have been formed on the model of the colonies established by the Dutch, in Belgium, during the fifteen years of forced union to that country, between 1815 and 1830. But even if not, the details of those abortive attempts, — excellent in design, but greatly mismanaged, like every thing in the way of practical government tried by the late King of Holland, —might be advantageously studied, as a warning of the evils to be avoided in the progress of the undertaking. These details are to be found in the statistical works of Mr. Ducpetiaux, of Brussels, one of the most inindustrious and useful of the European writers in this particular branch of social economy.

The Irish settlement in Maine was begun about five years ago. Having purchased from the State a township in a district of country, in which the advantage of profitable timber was made subservient to that of a fertile soil and favorable locality, the Bishop caused the tract to be laid out in lots adapted to the means of agricultural emigrants, who were admitted as purchasers, in small proportions, at the original price of the land. Settlers were not accepted indiscriminately, or without due inquiry as to character and capability. A church and school house were erected ; and measures were taken for the progressive extension and improvement of the colony.

It now consists of about sixty families, containing three hundred persons, all Irish ; and from its complete success and the high state of moral discipline adopted by the people, it is likely to become a model for all such establishments, and an example, which it is to be hoped will by and by be extensively followed in the various States of the Union.

It is right and fitting that this great reformation movement

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should have its commencement in the source where it originated, in a circle of enlightened Irishmen, and in the great city which forms the head-quarters of emigration. But every motive of genuine nationality, apart from the prejudices which degrade it, calls on the native citizens to encourage and coöperate in the plan. This was extensively the case in regard to the society set on foot by Mr. O'Connor, as appears from the statement of Dr. McNevin ; but some lukewarmness on the part of the city authorities seems to have thrown a chill upon the benevolent efforts of individuals, in an undertaking too vast in its benefits, and too universal in its object, not to require the most cordial aid of official patronage throughout the land.

Although every project for the information and protection of emigrants must naturally embrace the new comers of all nations, still it is to the Irish more particularly, that these efforts should be directed. They constitute a large proportion of the whole amount of immigrants ; and, with a due regard to the exigencies of this country, and the aptitude of Irishmen to supply them, it must be conceded that no foreigners reach these shores, whose services are more required, or whose labors are more richly remunerative to the land of their adoption ; who sympathize so entirely with its institutions, or who could be with such facility made *of* the country, while they were admitted *into* it.

The Germans, from the nature of their education, are accustomed more to the study of ancient feelings, than to the indulgence of present impulses. Their theories are founded on old forms of government, and old notions of society. They have but little practical experience ; and the consequence is a mass of abstractions in the national mind. It possesses, however, from this tone of education, a great simplicity. The sensations of the people are not overstrained or overexcited, as is the case in countries such as Ireland, where a perpetual agitation is kept up. And consequently great elements of good are contained in the public character, if they were properly brought out. But, by the policy of the various governments, they become inert and dull ; and the people, unaccustomed to the exercise of their power, bend before the tyranny, or at least resolve to fly from what they despair of being able to resist. They seek a shelter from the storm, rather than an open field for exertion. And

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it is on this principle that they emigrate to America, and on their arrival shun the great marts of commerce and corruption, and retire to the quietude and seclusion of remote rural settlements.

The Irishman, on the contrary, is an ardent, enterprising, and, above all, a social animal. He loves to work, — or, if need be, to fight, — his way through life. And, if left to himself on arriving in America, he would not settle in, but bustle through the existence of, some populous city. He has been all his life accustomed to a densely-peopled neighbourhood. His little island, — not larger than our State of Maine, — contains eight millions or more of inhabitants, half as many as the whole of our great Union. To make such a man love solitude, or seek the wilderness, — to teach him

> "To sit on rocks, to muse o'er flood and fell,
> Where things that own not man's dominion dwell,"

or to make him comprehend the abstract meaning of the fine distinction in Cowper's sublime and simple sentiment, —

> "God made the country, and man made the town,"

you must hold out great inducements, appeal rather to his pride than his reason, and arouse him to the glory of conquering difficulties, rather than soothe him by the prospect of enjoying repose.

Nothing is of more importance to men who are made for the enjoyment of certain rights, than a due understanding of what they comprise. "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are the inalienable rights of man," says the Declaration of American Independence ; but, without irreverence to that great charter of freedom, it may be observed, that a definition of the clause might be a puzzling task to the most profound jurist. The natural rights of man, a phrase in everybody's mouth, may be taken strictly to mean the rights of man in a state of nature. But this would by no means satisfy those theorists, who, confounding all the principles of society and government, build structures of law and justice (so to call them) no more solid than the air-built castles of the day-dreamer. A serious study of the subject is not within the reach of every individual ; but, surely, an utter neglect of it is unpardonable in those who take on themselves the office of instructing the public mind. It is, then, of absolute necessity to the common weal, that persons properly

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suited to the task should be appointed to give a certain degree of general information to all foreigners who seek this country with a view to final settlement. Instead of leaving them, as they have hitherto been left, exposed to the designs of schemers, as ignorant and far more culpable than they are, they should be met on their arrival by qualified agents, at once put on their guard, taken by the hand, set in the right road of conduct, gradually instructed in the primary political knowledge adapted to their capacity, and warned against the evil ways into which so many, from want of those precautions, have fallen.

These, and many other obvious duties, would, we presume, be gladly undertaken by persons of all political opinions and religious persuasions, for a fair remuneration. We have every probability for the future, of seeing a far improved class of Irish in every emigrant ship which arrives ; and the pleasure of instructing the intelligent disciples of Father Mathew will be proportioned to their respectability. A premium for temperance might be established, in a diminution of the probationary term at present required before naturalization, proportioned to the period during which, according to satisfactory proof, the postulants have inflexibly held firm to the pledge ; and thus, the benevolent wishes of General Harrison, for making the naturalization of foreigners "*more easy*," be gradually brought into effect.

But our limits do not permit us to dwell longer on this subject. A portion of the space still left us cannot be better filled, than by the insertion of the following letter on the state of Ireland, which lately appeared in the New York "Journal of Commerce," from the London correspondent of that paper. More recent accounts confirm this statement in every particular, and leave no doubt, that the number of Father Mathew's disciples at present amounts to nearly three millions of persons.

"*London, Sept. 31st*, 1840.

"Ireland is enjoying a state of perfect repose, and may be truly said to be in a condition of most uninterrupted tranquillity. It is true, Mr. O'Connell is stoutly advocating repeal, and agitating for his recruits to his associations ; but this proceeding is one of the safety-valves, and, therefore, cannot be looked on as either ominous or dangerous. The various circuits of the Judges are now over in Ireland, and, from the re-

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turns to the Home Office, it appears that there has been less crime than ever known. Those ruffian offences, brutal outrages, and atrocious murders, which formerly swelled the calendar of assizes throughout Ireland, have now, happily, ceased to exist. In several towns, but a few prisoners were for trial, and those on charges of a minor character, and in three large cities there was not a single prisoner to be placed before the judge. This state of things, a change so truly cheering and delightful, arises from the great confidence which the masses have in the present ministry and the Irish executive, and also from the mighty moral effects of the progress of tee-totalism.

"The tee-total movement is working a complete moral revolution in Ireland. All the accounts that we receive are confirmatory of the fact, that there are scarcely a dozen instances among the millions who have taken the pledge, of parties having relapsed into their former habits. In all the large cities, the effects are described as most curious; and, in Dublin, whole streets are devoted to the selling of clothes. The rags that formerly fluttered from the person of the drunkard, have given place to goodly garments; and butchers, bakers, bacon and butter factors, are increasing in numbers, and in wealth. Spirit stores are closing daily, and large distilleries are failing regularly about one a month. The great apostle of temperance, who has achieved this magic change, continues to devote all his energies to the cause, and is hourly increasing the number of his disciples, in manner and multitude perfectly astounding. Indeed, we must admit that Father Mathew is, without exception, the most remarkable man of his day; and, if he should succeed in rescuing his countrymen from their hitherto degraded and almost hopeless condition, and fix them in the course which they have adopted, he will, in my opinion, be entitled to more honor than the greatest general or statesman that ever existed."

In conclusion, we would seriously recommend to the consideration of all of our readers, the following truly beautiful passage from Mr. Goodrich's article, already quoted from.

"Let us by no means join in the popular outcry against foreigners coming to our country and partaking of its privileges. They will come, whether we will or no; and is it wise to meet them with inhospitality, and thus turn their hearts against us? Let us rather receive them as friends, and give them welcome to our country. Let us, at least, extend the hand of encouragement and sympathy to the Irish. Their story, for centuries, is but a record of sorrow and oppressions. They

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have been made to feel, not only how cruel, but how universal are the miseries which follow a bad government; and, even when leaving their native soil, they are obliged to carry with them the bitter memory of their country's wrongs. A people of quick and ardent sympathies, of a poetical and romantic love of country, they are, in exile, ever looking back to the Emerald Isle, with mingled sorrow and sickness of heart. How heavy is the burden which such bosoms must bear, as they wander over distant lands, in the bitter consciousness that their country is the desponding victim of oppression! Shall not those who come to our shores, afflicted with such sorrows, find in the friends and sharers of freedom, both welcome and release? Let us beware of adding to their wrongs. Let us remember, that there is other tyranny than that of chains and fetters, — the invisible but cruel tyranny of oppression and prejudice. Let us beware how we exercise this towards the Irish; for it is wicked in itself, and doubly mischievous in its tendency. It injures both its subject and its object, and brings no counterbalancing good.

"Let us especially be guarded against two sources of prejudice, to which we are particularly liable. In the first place, in our personal experience, we are familiar with the most ignorant and unfortunate of the Irish nation. We see, in servile employments, those who have been exposed to all the debasing influences that degrade mankind. Is it fair to draw from these a standard, by which to judge of the whole people? Let us rather ask ourselves, where there is another nation, who have been so long trampled down by oppression; who have been born in poverty, and nursed in adversity; who have inherited little from the past but sorrow, and can bequeath nothing to the future but hope; — where is there a people so wronged, that has yet preserved so many virtues? How gallantly, indeed, do Irish wit, and cheerfulness, and hospitality, and patriotism, ride on the wreck of individual hopes, and sparkle through the waves of adversity!

"Let us beware of prejudice from another source. We read English books, papers, and pamphlets, portraying the Irish as an untamable race, only to be ruled by the harsh inflictions of power. Let us, Americans, see that our minds are not driven from the moorings of justice, by this sinister current in which they are placed. Influenced by such considerations as these, let us, by all fair means, bring about a good understanding between the Irish emigrants and society. Let us deal gently with them, even with their errors. Thus we shall win their confidence. Thus they may be persuaded to take counsel of the good and the wise, and not throw them-

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selves into the arms of those, who flatter their vices, and minister to their passions but to use and abuse them.

"Let this reasonable and just policy mark our conduct towards the grown up Irish among us; and, in regard to their children, let us, individually and collectively, use our best endeavours to bestow upon them the benefits of education. But let us remember, that even an attempt to educate the Irish will fail, if it be not founded in a recognition of the elements of their national character, quick perception, a keen sense of justice, and ready resentment of wrong. If over these, prejudice, suspicion, and pride have thrown their shadows, let us adapt the instruction we would offer, to the light they can bear. In this way, a numerous people may be redeemed from misery to happiness, and rendered a blessing to our country. Let us thus deal with those Irish, who have left their native home to find a dwelling among us; and, in regard to the millions that remain in "the green and weeping island," let us hope for the speedy dawn of a brighter and better day. A youthful queen now sways the sceptre of Britain; and what may not humanity hope from the generosity of youth, and the heavenly charity of Woman?"— *Token*, pp. 173 – 177.

Having thus brought before our readers, to the best of our ability, a fair statement of Ireland as it is, and Irishmen as they are, and such ample extracts from the wisdom and eloquence of others, on a vital subject of domestic policy, we have here only to express our hope, that they will sink into the public mind, like seed dropped into a kindly soil, and that the product will be a rich harvest of philanthropy, — "peace on earth, good will towards men."

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Art. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Address Delivered before the Demosthenian and Phi Kappa Societies of Franklin College, Athens, Ga., on Thursday, August 5th*, 1840. By the Right Reverend John England, D. D., Bishop of Charleston, an Honorary Member of the Demosthenian Society. Published by Request of the Society. Athens. 8vo. pp. 33.

This address was delivered before a college society, called the Demosthenian, at Athens, in Georgia. The principal topic which the author discusses is the importance of relaxation, and the kind of relaxation best suited to the mind of man in the midst of the business and cares of life. After some just remarks upon the changes that take place in the amusements of a nation, as it grows more civilized and humane, he proceeds to consider the claims of classical literature; and upon this branch of his subject Bishop England speaks with the enthusiasm of a scholar. His remarks are every way judicious, and are accompanied by beautiful illustrations drawn from his own observation while travelling among scenes consecrated to the memory of the past. He finely says;

"There is in the palace of the Vatican, at Rome, a long corridor well known to the visiters of that magnificent depository of arts and of literature. As you enter, upon your right hand the wall is lined from the floor to the ceiling with fragments of marble, containing the rude and the improved inscriptions of Italy, in the days of heathenism. An immense vista opens before you, and to its extremity this monumental partition continues; the images of gods, the fragments of idols, the busts of heroes, the figures of philosophers, the figures of emperors, sarcophagi and pedestals range along its base; and the learned, the curious, the powerful, and the beautiful, the unbeliever and the pious, the gay and the grave, the libertine and the pilgrim, the British peer, the Spanish grandee, the American citizen, the Oriental sage, and the Italian peasant, in all the varied costumes of rank, of nation, of taste, and of caprice, move along the hall, reading the history of other days and admiring the works of artists who for multiplied centuries have been insensible to censure or to praise. There you may detect their living forms gliding between stern warriors frowning in marble, amidst petrified consuls and gladiators, blended with matrons, nymphs, and satyrs. One of the fathers of the church has appropriately remarked, that any one possessing eyes may look upon the characters of an illuminated volume, and admire the richness of the tints, the beauty of the letters, the decorations of the vellum; but, had he been taught to read, how much more imformation would he gather from the document itself? — How much more valuable would

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it be in his estimation? So, to the scholar, how rich is the mine of knowledge which that corridor contains? and are not his authors and his recollections like that corridor to him who has become familiar with their contents?"—pp. 19, 20.

The Bishop's style, though flowing, is not so condensed as good taste would require; the habit of much public speaking is apt to lead to a looseness of construction, while it makes the language more copious. The printer has not done his part in presenting this discourse properly to the world. It is disfigured by many errors in mere spelling, which of course, are not the author's.

2.—*Address delivered before the Philomathean Society, of Mount Saint Mary's College, near Emmettsburg, Maryland, at the Annual Commencement, June 24th,* 1840. By Eugene H. Lynch, Esq. Baltimore: 8vo. pp. 27.

This discourse is very well written, and in general very well reasoned. The orator's purpose is to show, that two great leading philosophical views have, in all ages, divided the world. This he illustrates by references to the history of philosophy. The two views or systems are the mystical or spiritual philosophy and the philosophy of the senses, under which all systems, when analyzed, may be ranged. There is more plausibility than truth in this division; most systems recognise both facts of man's nature, and acknowledge the instinctive feeling of man, that he is a being made up of body and soul; and it is impossible, as a matter of fact, to draw any such line as Mr. Lynch attempts to draw, and as many others have attempted to draw before him. This mere theory, for it is nothing more, leads the orator to commit the injustice of making the following erroneous assertions. "The principles of the old materialists were again announced under a system generally known as that of sensualism. *Of that system Lord Bacon may be considered the father.*" In England, he says, "A system, whose ultimate and legitimate deductions were at war with all faith, flourished by the side of Christianity; and the honest defenders of religion were at the same time the ardent supporters of principles whose necessary conclusions struck at its very existence." After this monstrous absurdity, we shall be prepared for the assertion, often made elsewhere, but never sustained

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by a particle of proof, and repeated here in a very authoritative manner, "Materialism, *the necessary result of the philosophy of Locke*, advocated by Condillac, was fully developed in the writings of Cabanis." Can Mr. Lynch have read Locke? His remarks upon Kant, too, are exceedingly inaccurate. Instead of establishing "the immovable convictions of faith on the basis of a thorough observation and analysis of facts," it was, in the language of a distinguished German, "only a sort of dignified resignation, a socratic confession, 'I know that I know nothing.' This system was, consequently, only the establishment of a long-cherished skepticism, and harmonizes entirely with an unbelieving age." The same writer remarks, "The philosophical century wanted an earth without a heaven, a state without a church, man without a God. No one has shown so plainly as Kant, how, with this limitation, earth may still be a paradise, the state a moral union, and man a noble being, by his own reason and power subjected to law," &c.

Many of the general statements in this discourse are equally vague, apparently from a habit of generalizing without that regard to facts, of which a closer adherence to the Baconian methods would have taught our author the importance. But still there is much to be praised. He shows a lofty spirit, and considerable eloquence; and many of his sentiments are strikingly beautiful.

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3. — *An Address on Primary Education, delivered by* M. Charles Paterson, *before the Columbian Peithologian Society, in the Chapel of Columbia College, June 3d*, 1840. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. 42.

The subject of primary education is here treated with a practical knowledge, which is not often found. The views of Mr. Paterson ought to be strongly urged upon the educated classes throughout the country. It shows good sense and a patriotic spirit, in the orator, to pass over the more inviting themes that must have occurred to him, and to select this homely, but all important subject, on which to address a polite and learned audience. His statements, facts, reasonings, and conclusions, are well calculated to excite attention and

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to do good, especially in the great State of New York. Many interesting facts he has presented in the Address and in the notes, with relation to the working of foreign systems of national education, as the Prussian. As republicans, we ought to hang our heads with mortification, that we have allowed ourselves to be so forgetful of our nearest interests, while the absolute despotism of Prussia has devised a system, which makes every one of its subjects an instructed man. Such men as Mr. Paterson ought to ring these facts in the ears of the people until they are compelled, for very shame, to bestir themselves, and escape the disgrace of being so completely distanced as they are now, by a monarchy without a constitution, in the career of enlightened education.

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4. — 1. *Anthon's Greek Reader. From the "New York Review."* [An Extra from the last Number of that Journal.] 8vo. pp. 12.
2. *The Knickerbocker for November*, 1840. [Literary notice of the "North American Review," No. 109. pp. 9.]
3. *Letter to the Editor of the "North American Review," New York Editors, and New England Critics.* By Patrick S. Casserly. 8vo. pp. 16.

It has been our unhappiness, by a recent notice of Professor Anthon's edition of Jacobs's "Greek Reader," to disturb the equanimity of some writers in his neighbourhood. The Review lately established in New York collects for us more terms of objurgation, than it would be convenient to rehearse in the hearing of ears polite. The "Knickerbocker" magazine, —commonly the most complaisant of the quill-armed choir, complimenting comers "from all the corners" with a carol and a coo, — now ruffles its glossy plumage, "turns up its bright eye, and pecks." Mr. Patrick S. Casserly, with whom is his son Mr. Eugene, is the last Richmond in the field. "One at a time, pray, gentlemen," said once a judge of the Emerald Isle, on an occasion of which it cannot be necessary to remind Mr. Casserly, who speaks of "the seminaries of Great Britain and Ireland, where I happened to be born and brought up."

The disturbed parties praise each other all round with an edifying assiduity. The "New York Review" commends the wit of the "Knickerbocker," and the "Knickerbocker" testifies to the ability and scholarship of the "New York Review"; while Mr. Casserly, notwithstanding his particular

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little quarrel with one of them, yet gives, in both directions, his generous meed of applause. At this table surcharged with a feast of encomiums, it is only we that come not in for a crumb.

An honest business, doubtless, and a useful, is this of criticism; and when it has been undertaken, what remains but to do it? A thankless business, too, it is apt to be, notwithstanding. The old doctrine about the irritability of poets is not without application to the prose writers. You shall hold a man's character, and even his talents and learning, in singular esteem, and greatly value his regard, and yet, if he have not a good deal of magnanimity, or even if he have, he shall pass by you very coldly the next time you cross his way, after having followed your best judgment in finding fault with his book, or even commending it with faint praise. As far as personal relations are concerned between him and you, you shall greatly desire to adopt his offered criticism upon some third party, and yet if, by difference of opinion, or some other reason, you are obliged to deny yourself that pleasure, you are liable to find, from some early shedding of reproachful ink, that you have passed to a different place in his esteem. And, if this be so with friends, how must it be expected to be with strangers? If gentle fault-finding is not easily borne, what is liable to follow when the censure is more decided? And, if the mere refusal to publish unmerited praise may give offence, what is likely to ensue, when the justice of such praise in some instance is publicly denied? It must be odd, indeed, when an author, and his publisher, and all who may have inadvertently been led to commend his book by anticipation, or without sufficient knowledge, cannot among them furnish champions to stand by him in his arraignment. Sometimes the aggrieved author becomes rabid in his own defence. Sometimes the business is taken off his hands, and battle is done for him with the same zeal which might be thought natural in himself, should he assume the controversy.*

We have ventured to suggest, that writers of prose, as well as of poetry, are an irritable race; and we add, that, among the former, the dealers in the technics of philology, whether in the way of grammar, dictionary, translation, or annotation, are distinguished for sensibility above their kind. A merchant is hardly more moved by a question raised upon the goodness of

* As to the present instance, however, Mr. Casserly says (p. 3); "The Jay Professor has already shown himself more than a match for the Coryphæus of the northern confederacy." What does this mean? As far as we know, there is nothing before the public, touching this matter, ostensibly from the pen of Dr. Anthon.

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his note, than a classical schoolmaster by a doubt as to the correctness of his version of a clause, or his notation of an accent. Even in the strongest case that can be supposed, — without the pretence of even the poorest acquirements to sustain him against criticism, — it is often astonishing how much vehemence an exposed adventurer in this department will not only exhibit, but excite on the part of others, when put on his defence. It is but a little while, for instance, since we had occasion to pass some strictures on a Hebrew Lexicon, a royal octavo volume of over seven hundred pages, by a Mr. Roy, who wrote himself "Professor of Oriental Languages in New York." Never was a more trumpery production, of any learned pretension, since the press first began to be abused. Never were more pathetic wailings for the loss of four or five dollars, than were uttered by those of its purchasers, who had gone far enough in their studies to be able to take it into use. Yet for the strictures which we felt bound to make, and which all purchasers *in posse* had occasion to esteem no little kindness on our part, it was our misfortuae to be bitterly upbraided by a portion of the New York press. The echo of that outcry is scarcely yet dead on our much-enduring ear. It had been ushered into the world with a solemn array of names, some, strange to say, with academical titles, and others of persons who perhaps did, and perhaps did not, know one Hebrew letter from another ; and, while those dignified names were paraded everywhere in the advertisements in staring capitals, it is not perhaps surprising if some were so misguided as to esteem some show of defence of the merits of the book to be a point of honor.

Professor Anthon is a scholar of very different *calibre* from Professor Roy. But he has taken care to surround himself beforehand, or his publishers have taken care to surround him, with the same sort of circumvallation. He has proposed a "Series of Classical Works," now in progress, to "consist of about thirty volumes" ; and a little *brochure* is in circulation, containing recommendations of this series, from various academical dignitaries. In the list of signers, beginning with the President of one college "down east" (as Mr. Casserly loves to phrase it), and ending with the President of another so very easterly, as to deserve, if any, to be called "beyond down east," some are certainly more distinguished than others for their familiarity with the Greek and Latin classics ; some, in their apparent encomiums, may be observed to be more studious than others of a *non-committal* style ; while, though the drag-net is capacious, the reader misses altogether several names, which naturally occur to his mind in connexion with this department of schol-

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arship. In the publishers' list of proposed works, accompanying these recommendations, it is further announced, that the Jacobs's "Greek Reader," since published and commented on by us, *will be*, — for it was yet "in press," — "a new edition, superior to any heretofore published in this country;" and that "Anthon's Classical Dictionary," also "in press," "will be the best and most complete Classical Dictionary ever published." We heartily wish it may be so. Such a Classical Dictionary will be a great convenience. But the sentence passed by anticipation bodes no good, in certain quarters, in respect to the impartiality of the criticism which will receive it.

We have observed this system of quackery in publication, with a sense of its mischievous aspect upon the interests of sound learning; and we have sometimes thought of pointing out, how imperfectly, in some respects, the accomplishment of Professor Anthon's works corresponded to the magnificence of their promise. Especially we have doubted, whether it was not incumbent on us to indicate some of the defects and blemishes of his "Grammar of the Greek Language," a manual, which can never come into use in any well-conducted school, where such works, as those of Mr. Fisk and Mr. Sophocles, are accessible. But, partly through reluctance to comment unfavorably upon the labors of a scholar of so much pretension, and also of so much real learning, as Professor Anthon, — a reluctance which we cannot justify to ourselves, but such is our weakness, — we have hitherto foreborne. In the instance which has brought us into this discussion, we saw what our public duty would by no means permit us to pass by without remonstrance. We cannot pretend to know every instance, in which one person helps himself to the literary labors of another. Liable as it is to grave exceptions, and deserving to be excepted against as often as the attempt is made, it is unfortunately no infrequent transaction in the book-market. But this instance we did know, and we saw it to be deserving of serious reprehension. If, in our critical capacity, we ever have a duty to discharge, it is in cases of this nature. To right such a wrong by an exposure of the circumstances is, we were about to say, one of the few things that critics are good for. But we reconsider the words. We cannot expect to right such wrongs. They are scarcely remediable; and the most we can hope is, by animadverting upon them when they are done, to obstruct somewhat their too frequent occurrence. If one work has been made from another, we do not suppose that a mere disclosure of the fact

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will stop the sale of the former. There is no reason, appreciable by the mass of buyers, why it should. If, by availing myself of the labors of some other person, I have brought into the shops a salable book, of course it will sell; and, if his labors have been valuable, then, the more I have availed myself of them, the more my book will sell. The purchaser does not care by what process it has been made, provided it suits him. But, in such a case as that in question, the author and publisher of the first have sad reason to care. The writer in the "Knickerbocker" imagines, that he says something to the purpose, when he avers, that the "Reader" recently published in New York sells more rapidly than that before edited in Boston. We take the fact from him, though we did not know it before, and we admit that it is to the purpose; but, to the purpose of our argument. It is just what was likely to happen; and, had it been less likely, there would have been less reason why any critic should trouble himself to give attention to the matter. A copies with alterations the book of B, reprints it, and offers it for sale. It sells, and A is the gainer, and B has his labor for his pains. Very well. The state of B's purse is no individual concern of a reviewer, except so far as he cares for justice. But it is the concern of the public, one of whose great interests is the interest of learning. For presently the proceeding, unrebuked, becomes a practice; then B will not make his book, with the chance of its being made for A's benefit; and so the public gets it from neither hand, and starves for lack of knowledge.

This is what we charged in the present instance, and no special pleading about one or another expression in the Preface to the censured work will save it from this reproach. There is an easy way for any one, who doubts whether our charge was just, to end the strife. Let him sit down, and compare the two volumes together, and he will have perfect satisfaction in half an hour. The writer in the "Knickerbocker," with a view to discredit our remarks, as if made under an unfair bias, said, that the "Reader," published in Boston, belonged to a "series," which was competing with the series of Professor Anthon for public favor. We told him that this express statement was without a particle of foundation, — that the work belonged to no series whatever; and we are pleased to see, that he does not repeat the assertion; to retract it, would have been more graceful still. He accounted for our course, again, — and in this he is followed by the New York Reviewer and Mr. Casserly, — by alleging the influence of private interest on our part, and this we did not think it worth our while to deny,

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as readers do not much mind such imputations. But perhaps it is as well now, that we should do so; and, accordingly, we inform them, one and all, — the "New York Review," the "Knickerbocker," Mr. Casserly, Mr. Eugene his son, and as many more as there may be, — that they labor in this under a mistake. We have not the remotest interest in the matter, beyond what belongs equally to other friends of good learning. Those, who are to put money in their purse by the sale of the Boston "Greek Reader," if it sells, are neither our debtors nor our creditors, neither our cousins nor our cronies; they are nothing in the world to us, that the prosperity of their work should be a motive for one judgment of ours or for another. As to our relations to publishers, no publisher has a farthing of property in this journal, or a jot of influence over its management; nor have we the slightest concern with Messrs. Hilliard and Gray, more than with the Messrs. Harper, or with Messrs. Carey and Lea, or with the abundant list of names that make up the London firm beginning with Longman. As to *sectional* prejudice, — which is another form of this *argumentum ad invidiam*, — it would be not a little strange, if, supposing it to exist in us in extreme malignity, it should prompt us to any very great concern about the comparative merit of school-books. Whether such a feeling is justly chargeable upon us, is a question which we do not propose to argue. We prefer, with a perfect confidence as to what the verdict will be, to submit to the decision of our readers, whether an instance can be found, in which our favorable or unfavorable judgment of a work can be plausibly referred to its having been produced or published in one or another part of the country. While we do not think the work now in question, in either of its forms, to be by any means so good as is demanded for the preparatory schools in the present improved state of Greek learning in this country, we feel it to be utterly superfluous to say, that, had the conditions of the two publications been reversed, — had the book copied come from New-York, and the copy from New England, — we should have spoken of the latter just as we have done. Will any one explain to us, why we should not condemn a wrong, because it happens to be done, not in New England, but in New York? That would be a sectional feeling, with a witness.

We have detained our readers with these observations much longer than we proposed, and they are weary of the whole matter. And yet, before leaving it, we hope to be pardoned for recalling to their remembrance a few particulars of the way in which our animadversion has been met, (for its force ought not to be lost sight of in the fog which has been at-

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tempted to be raised around it,) and adding a few more particular remarks, called for by the last aspects of the defence.

It is to logic after the following fashion, that we and the public have been treated by Dr. Anthon's defenders. We said that, professing to publish an edition of Jacobs's "Greek Reader," he had given extracts from Greek writers, not found in that compilation; we were answered, in indignant language, that those extracts, if not in Jacobs, were in Dalzel. We complained of his mistranslation of a word (ἀφίημι) in a particular passage; his defenders led their readers through all the mazes of the Greek language to establish an undisputed meaning of that word in other passages. We found fault with his Lexicon for its frequent tautology; they replied, that the definitions given were correct. We arraigned him for inaccuracy in his notes; they flung back at us a variety of blunders, observed in other classical books published in Boston. We charged him with copying errors in accentuation from the previous Boston work; they entered into an argument to prove, that those errors were not without authority. We objected to the dictatorial tone of his notes; they retorted, that the Boston notes had faults. We accused him of giving his authority to a work not wholly his own; and they brought him off by pleading, that the Boston "Reader," (which appeared with the authority of no name,) was not all the work of one hand. And then, having scarcely met us fairly and openly on one of the questions we raised, they permitted themselves to accuse us of unfairness in argument, and of a desire to deceive our readers by a misuse of such classical learning as we possess.

In August, the "Knickerbocker" argued, that the accentuation of Ἄγις and Ἴσις was correct. In November, after our remarks on the subject, it still accents them in the same manner, but owns that it is wrong, only charging us with proving it wrong in a wrong way. The critic, in his last position, urges that the penults of these words *may* be long by the *arsis* of the foot. Why not say at once, "They may have the acute accent"? They might, if they could be proved to require it; and they might be long by the *arsis*, if they could be proved to be usually short, and in no other way. Why else, but with reference to this, should we have been at pains to say as we did, that the prosody of the lines we quoted, along with "the analogy of the Latin poets," showed the penults of the words in question to be long, "*in the entire absence of all proof to the contrary*"? Probably not one reader in a hundred understood this parade about *arsis* and *thesis*, or doubted in consequence, that the reviewer had carried

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his point. A stratagem, perhaps more dexterous, follows. Unwilling to give up ἄμνος, which he had defended on the authority of a typographical error in Riemer, the critic says, without apologizing for his former blunder; — "The reviewer may read in Stephen's Thesaurus, under the head of ἀμνή, what will perhaps enlighten him on the subject of typographical errors." This was intended to convey the idea, that Stephen's authority was against us. In fact, it is strongly on our side. Under ἀμνή he says, "ἄμνη is also found, although ἀμνός" (with our accentuation) "appears everywhere." Few readers of the "Knickerbocker," it is likely, examined the Thesaurus; and so the intended impression may have been made, that Stephen was opposed to us. So the "New York Review," under its argument on ἀφίημι, parades eight sentences from Diodorus Siculus to support its positions, five of which, at least, are to the purpose of our own argument.

The "Knickerbocker" insists, that Dr. Anthon copied from the German, not the Boston, edition, and attempts to account, on that ground, for the resemblances we had noticed. A few words will show the credibility of this assertion. In Dr. Anthon's book we find the following erroneous variations from the reading of Jacobs; ὑμῶν μηδέν for ὑμῶν, μηδέν (p. 36); λαμβανόντες for λαμβάνοντες (p. 55, and here he copies his error into his note); κῦτος for κύτος (p. 65); αὐτοχθών for αὐτόχθων (p. 65); ὑπαργυρός for ὑπάργυρος (p. 103). All these errors are also in the Boston edition. Jacobs was right, the Boston editors were wrong, and Dr. Anthon was wrong with them. And yet we are told that he copied from Jacobs. Altogether safer here is the language of the "New York Review," which deals with the palpable fact, not in the way of denial, but of justification. The following are its words; the italics are ours.

"He has recently *seen fit to edit*, what he had an unquestioned right to do, (the work having been for thirteen years freely published in different cities by rival editors,) *the compilation, originally made in Boston*, from Jacobs's Greek Reader, and known familiarly under that name, though containing also, *in its later form*, a few poetical extracts from Dalzel's Collectanea Minora, together with notes chiefly translated from the one author, or transferred from the other, and a Lexicon, as usual, accommodated to the selected passages. *Of this received and established compilation*, as read in schools and free in the market, Dr. Anthon has this year put forth, as already said, a new critical and enlarged edition," &c. — p. 501.

Here is a description of the Boston edition, (a compilation from Jacobs and Dalzel, with certain accompaniments,) and Dr. Anthon is said to have used, and to have had a right to use it. *Quid plura?*

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The "New York Review" charges us with representing the Boston edition of the "Greek Reader" as an original work. We spoke frequently of "Jacobs's work," and explained the manner in which the Boston "Reader" had been edited. We left no obscurity in our meaning. And it reproves us for unfairness in pressing on Dr. Anthon his own statements taken from his own Preface, because he "inadvertently named the German work [of Jacobs] in connexion with that selection," when, according to the defence since set up, he really took from Jacobs and Dalzel. We thought it hard that we should be charged with all the errors of so many Boston editors; it is worse if we must bear the burden of Dr. Anthon's inadvertences.

The "Knickerbocker" tells us, that Dr. Anthon's helper, Mr. Drisler, in preparing his Lexicon, read the whole Greek text and noted down every word; these words being afterwards written off alphabetically in a separate book. From these materials, it is said, the Lexicon was formed, Donnegan and Passow being the principal authorities. In our July Number we suggested, that Jacobs's Lexicon was the basis of the New York one; and on that ground we made large allowances for the similarity of the two American editions. The "New York Review" appears to have the same impression, and argues upon it. This explanation of the origin of the resemblances is, however, rejected by the "Knickerbocker," which states as above, that Mr. Drisler's Lexicon was entirely original. A few facts will illustrate the temerity of this statement.

Dr. Anthon omitted four pages of the Boston text, specimens of Greek letter-writing. The following words, *κόψιχος*, *κίχλη*, *δίκελλα*, *ἄσπασμα*, *τῆτες*, *ἀχράς*, *εὔσαρκος*, *ὀρόδαμνος*, *μυσταγωγέω*, *βαθύπλουτος*, *πολυτάλαντος*, *φυλλοχόος*, occur in that part of the book, and in no other. If Mr. Drisler went to work as we are told he did, who can divine how these words, which were not in his text, should ever have appeared in his Lexicon, *as they do*? The Boston text changes the common reading *Ἀκταίονα* into *Ἀκταίωνα* (p. 3), and *Αἰθιόπης* into *Αἰθιοπίας* (p. 133). The forms *Ἀκταίονος* (genitive) and *Αἰθιόπη*, both of which were allowable, consequently do not appear in the Lexicon. Mr. Drisler omits them also, although his text required them. The Boston editor inserted more than a hundred words, not in the text, because they were primitives of words which were there. The "Knickerbocker" praises Mr. Drisler because he has omitted a few of these. A great majority of them, however, appear. He did not intend to insert any such; but these were in the Boston book, and he could not omit them with-

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out risking an error. The Boston Lexicon gives *παιδία, ἐυμεγεθής* and *Κάρᾰνος* for *παιδιά, ἐυμεγέθης* and *Κάρᾱνος*, in the face, we believe, of every authority. Mr. Drisler makes the same error. In the face even of the authority of its text, the Boston edition makes *Ἰωλκός* masculine. Mr. Drisler does the same. And yet we are expected to believe that he made no use of the Boston edition.

We are taken to task for want of patriotism in disapproving of school books, so praised abroad as those of Dr. Anthon; and the "Knickerbocker" triumphs in the discovery, that the blunder in his Greek Grammar, mentioned in our last number, was translated from Rost. If Rost had written so inaccurately, and if all the scholars of Europe and New York sustained him, there would be no reason for us to hesitate a moment in telling them that they were wrong and proving it. European scholars have, of course, many advantages over American; but we cannot on that account go so far as the "Knickerbocker" does, and defend two different accentuations of the same word, because each has, by misprint or by design, a foreign authority. We are sorry to see, that the "New York Review" acquiesces in this singular display of patriotism, and thinks to put Dr. Anthon's notes beyond criticism, as having been approved by Dr. Boyd, of the High School at Edinburgh.

The critics we have in hand seem to think they take strong ground in arguing, that Dr. Anthon's "Reader" is good enough for American schools. The "New York Review" says, that notes like his are necessary, for that in this country an editor's notes must take the place "of a learned and an ever-present tutor"; and Mr. Casserly, speaking of our discussions on accentuation, decides; "It is quite ridiculous for the writer in the Review to make so much fuss about a matter, of which not one teacher out of twenty, nor one pupil out of one hundred, knows any thing." We protest against the introduction of such arguments. If American scholarship be at a low ebb, it is no excuse for an editor who prepares a poor school-book. Good school-books are needed only the more.

Mr. Casserly has exercised himself much in translation. As we are but dull in the language which seems to be his vernacular, we will rest in the hope of seeing an English version of his Letter. Meantime we turn him over to the "New York Review" (with which the tart note on his sixteenth page proclaims him to be at feud), and the New York Reviewer to him, only volunteering our good offices to the reviewer so far as to recommend to him to compare Mr. Casserly's Lexicon, which he has hitherto supposed to be original, with the oldest published in Boston. He will find them to be, in al-

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most every instance, word for word, the same, excepting that, under some of the letters, — those nearest the beginning, and in a few detached words elsewhere, — Mr. Casserly added the derivations. Further than this, we must not be expected to interfere, even in the office of umpire, in this minor Battle of the Books ;

> "Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites;
> Et *vitulo* tu dignus, et hic."

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5. — *Memorandum of a late Visit to some of the principal Hospitals, Prisons, &c., in France, Scotland, and England. Embraced in a Letter to the Acting Committee of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons.* Philadelphia : E. G. Dorsey. 8vo. pp. 33.

This pamphlet is one of the means which are frequently resorted to by the persevering, industrious, and ambitious friends of the system of discipline pursued at the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, to direct public opinion in favor of that system. It contains no statement of facts that are important in the discussion of the question, Which is the best plan of prison discipline ? but has frequent, direct and indirect, expressions of opinion in favor of the *separate system*, as it is called ; thus endeavouring to produce the impression, that the great weight of authority is on that side. We will not assert that the pamphlet misrepresents in this particular. We are inclined to think, however, that the best and highest authorities are in favor of the Auburn plan. But we consider this a matter of little moment to ourselves. We have presumed to form an opinion upon the facts we have learned on the subject, taking care to have good authority for them ; and the quotation of the opinion of this or that governor of a foreign prison, or this or that scholar who may, or may not, know more of the matter than ourselves, we confess, has very little weight with us. Still, it is a very favorite method of our friends at Philadelphia, interested in this subject, to roll the ball of opinion, as if every accumulation must, of necessity, be a valuable addition to the weight and power of the mass.

There is an admission on the very second page of the pamphlet before us, which has a tendency to show the value of such opinions as may be collected abroad.

"There is, at present, as you know, no system of prison discipline either in England or France. Indeed, the style of building, govern-

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ing, and furnishing prisons, is far less uniform than with us, defective as our country still is in this respect." — p. 4.

Why go to France or England, then, to look for that which exists in a better form at home ? Is it for the purpose of sending out such rash assertions as are contained in the following paragraph ?

"In France, public opinion is settled in favor of the Pennsylvania or separate system, substantially; 1. For all untried prisoners of every grade; 2. For all juvenile delinquents; and 3. For all convicts whose sentence is for a less term than one year. And there seems to be no doubt that the same principle will soon be recognised in all terms and subjects of imprisonment. The efforts, which have been made in our country to mislead the community respecting the tendency and results of the separate system, have had an unhappy influence abroad. Statements have been copied from the reports of the Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia, by the opponents of the separate system, without the explanations which accompanied them in their original form; and hence the most unreasonable and groundless prejudices have been excited in the minds of those who rely on these garbled representations." — p. 4.

We think there is much reason to doubt whether the same principle will soon be recognised in all terms and subjects of imprisonment, either in France or any other country ; because we have great reliance on the ultimate prevalence of truth, and sound argument, and experience. The charge of making efforts to mislead the community, comes with an ill grace from the friends of those who have disputed and denied facts which they have, at last, been constrained to admit. But we are not disposed to bandy recriminations. We prefer to state one or two of the reasons why we presume, that the separate system will not find favor universally, as it has done in Pennsylvania.

In the first place, notwithstanding all the architectural skill which has been bestowed upon the construction of prisons on the plan of the Eastern Penitentiary, none has ever yet been built, which effectually and perfectly accomplishes the object of preventing communication from cell to cell. And we feel justified, by experience and by reason, in expressing the belief, that no continuous building of the kind ever will be, or can be erected. If you wish to isolate the prisoner, you must put him in a cell separated from all others. A range of contiguous cells, between which all communication shall be stopped, is an impossibility. We might rest here, and ask, Why should an impossibility be attempted ? But there are other topics to which we think it proper to allude, upon this and all other oc-

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casions, when the subject of the Auburn System and the Separate System is under discussion.

There has been abundant experience in the world, both before and since the erection of the Eastern Penitentiary, to prove that the tendency of perpetual solitude is to produce *dementia ;* and, though the construction of such prisons may not be adequate to prevent the adroit and accomplished rogue from holding as much intercourse as he may wish with his neighbours, it is quite sufficient to produce very visible injurious effects upon the minds of those who are less hardened and skilful. For the proof of this, we refer to the annual reports of the Directors of the Philadelphia Prison. Now, we say, and we believe the world in general will agree with us, that this is intolerable. No human being, or collection of human beings under the name of a Legislature, has any right to inflict a punishment upon another, which has a direct tendency to make him an idiot, or a lunatic ; and that protracted total solitude has this tendency, is so clearly established, that few will be found bold enough to deny it, except the friends of the Separate System. All the imperfections that have been charged upon the Auburn System, if a thousand times worse than they have ever been represented, are trifling in comparison with this one indisputable and dreadful blemish, with which the Separate System is chargeable, and the Auburn System is not.

Here, again, we might stop, and ask, if such a barbarism should be permitted in this age of the world. For ourselves, it is sufficient. And, until it is clearly established, that long-continued solitude is not injurious to the mental faculties, we shall oppose the system which requires such solitude.

We have neither time nor space, at present, to go further into the discussion of this interesting subject, which, our readers will remember, has been recently treated by us at some length. * We will merely add, at present, that in all the essential points of discipline, instruction, and economy, the Auburn plan is, in our judgment, decidedly superior to the other. When we speak of instruction, we refer to religious instruction, which is as important, — more so, if possible, — to the convict, as to the free citizen. And how this can be given on the separate plan, so advantageously as on the other, surpasses our powers of imagination. There is a scheme, described in the pamphlet before us, as devised for the London model prison, by which each prisoner is to occupy a little box, opening towards the preacher, in each corridor, on Sundays, that thus several hundreds may listen at once. This plan is,

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLIX. p. 1 *et seq.*

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as yet, untried, the prison not being completed; but, if it should work as well as expected, it will still fall far short of the effect of united worship in a chapel.

This pamphlet presents the subject in no new points of view; but the subject itself is so interesting and important, and so little understood or regarded by the public, that we are willing to take every occasion in our power to turn towards it that spirit of inquiry, of sagacity, and of justice, which is characteristic of our community, and which cannot fail to establish the truth at last.

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6. — *Seleccion de Obras Maestras Dramáticas de* Lope de Vega *y* Calderon de la Barca. Por F. Sales, A. M. Boston. Jaime Munroe y Compañia. 12mo. pp. 292.

This volume contains some of the finest specimens of the Spanish drama, namely, "La Estrella de Sevilla" of Lope, and "El Principe Constante" and "El Mágico Prodigioso" of Calderon. The extreme care, with which the text has been prepared and printed, reflects great credit upon its editor, Mr. Sales of Cambridge, and can be fully appreciated only by those who are conversant with the coarse and incorrect editions of the Spanish drama current in Spain. The volume is not only carefully but handsomely printed, and adorned with a fine head of Lope.

"La Estrella de Sevilla" is one of the best of its author's heroic dramas. The plot is in the highest degree interesting; and the characters and scenes are sketched with great dramatic power. An analysis of this play, with translated extracts, may be found in Lord Holland's "Life of Lope de Vega." The story is in general the same as that of Mrs. Butler's "Star of Seville," though the *dénouement* varies. It is founded on events in the life of Sancho el Bravo.

"El Principe Constante" is an historic drama, founded on the captivity and death of the Portuguese Prince, Ferdinand, in Africa. Though not entirely free from vagueness and declamation, it contains many stirring passages, and fine scenic effects; as, for example, the Prince's death and the apparition of his ghost, clad in the dress of his knightly order, and leading the Portuguese army to battle.

"El Mágico Prodigioso" is the Spanish Faust, and relates the temptation, conversion, and final salvation of Saint Cyprian, of Antioch. It is a remarkable production, both as a poem and

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as a drama. Shelley has translated some portions of it, which may be found among his poems.

Such, with a couple of biographical notices, are the contents of this volume, which will serve the student as an excellent introduction into the vast field of the Spanish drama.

7.—*Michael Angelo considered as a Philosophical Poet. With Translations.* By JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR. London: Saunders and Otley. 12mo. pp. 139.

THIS is a very clever and agreeable book. The author is evidently a man of taste and high literary accomplishment. He shows himself familiar with the literature and art of Italy, and particularly with the poetry of Dante. The object of the present treatise is to exhibit the character of Michael Angelo, as he has shown it in his poems; to draw from these records of the great artist's genius the views and principles and the lofty feelings, which guided him in his sublime creations. In order to illustrate his subject, the author has presented us an ingenious disquisition upon the allegorical poetry of the age. He carries his theory perhaps further than most Italian scholars would be likely to admit it; but he mingles with his general views many remarks of great value upon single points. The part of the book which pleases us particularly is the explanation of Michael Angelo's *idéal*, as distinguished from the ideal of the ancient sculptors. The following passage will be found interesting to the lovers of the poetry and art of the greatest age of Italy.

"Michael Angelo was from an early age devoted to the study of the poetry of Dante and Petrarca; it is said that he knew by heart at one time nearly all the sonnets of the latter. Much however as he admired and imitated the imagery of Petrarca, the boldness of Dante's genius was more congenial to his own. The refinement of taste in the age of Michael Angelo preferred the elegance of style, the harmonious flow, of the muse of Petrarca, who became the model of all succeeding poets. The wide difference between those great masters of the Italian language has been well defined by Foscolo in his parallel of the two. But what is most admirable in the *Rime* of Michael Angelo, is, that he so harmonizes the elegance of the one with the grandeur and solidity of the other, as to obliterate their discrepancies and to form a perfect unity of character. Out of differing elements he creates, rather than remodels, a style of poetry, and stamps it with an originality; and his frequent imitation of passages both from Dante and Petrarca gives us

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more the impression of his perfect conversance with their productions, than of transcription and paraphrase. But in his poetry, as in his designs, Dante was the text-book of his thoughts, and innumerable instances in either might be cited to illustrate this. In the 'Last Judgment' Dante has furnished the artist with many thoughts from the 'Inferno' of the 'Divina Commedia'; and one of the most interesting monuments of the genius of one artist illustrated by the kindred spirit of another, was the copy of Dante's great poem which Michael Angelo had enriched with marginal designs. This inestimable treasure perished, it is well known, in a shipwreck.

"There is a similarity in the character of Dante to that of our artist, which I may here briefly notice. How gloriously is the sympathy of the two marked in the sonnets which he wrote on Dante! * The mind of the latter was wonderfully fitted by nature to meet and to resist the injuries of the world, and the still greater trial of fortitude, the ingratitude of his own country. Strengthened for the task by the deep and severe studies of the schools, he felt himself superior to injury, his spirit recoiled within itself, and a philosophic equanimity, springing from the conscious dignity and purity of his own mind, never forsook him. We can hear him exclaim,

'Conscienza m' assicura,
La buona compagnia, che l' uom francheggia
Sotto l' usbergo del sentirsi pura.'

'The power of despising,' says Foscolo, 'which many boast, which few really possess, and with which Dante was uncommonly gifted by nature, afforded him the highest delight of which a lofty mind is susceptible.'

"If the fortitude of Michael Angelo was not subjected to the same test, it was tried in another way. He had not to undergo banishment and persecution; but, in the ardent pursuit of his art, he was crossed by the constant efforts of a petty jealousy to thwart his designs and divert from him the favor of the great and powerful. These mean artifices filled him with a just but silent contempt. He was above stooping to resentment; for, as he himself observed, 'He who contends with the worthless must always be a loser.' His pride showed itself to those only who were mean; he was naturally of a kind disposition, ever free and anxious to impart information and advice to others in his art; but toward supercilious ignorance his spirit was unbending, and he could as ill brook an unmerited indignity from a pope as from a peasant. When Julius II. refused him an audience time after time, Michael Angelo indignantly returned home, saying, 'If his Holiness wants me from this time forward, he must seek me elsewhere.' The same night he left Rome. The Pope sent five couriers to bring him back; but, when they overtook him, he was beyond the papal jurisdiction. They delivered the Pope's letter, which ran thus; 'Return immediately to Rome, on pain of our displeasure.' But his spirit refused to bow, and he wrote the following reply; 'Being expelled the antechamber of your Holiness, conscious of not meriting the disgrace, I took the only

"* See Mr. Southey's admirable translations of these in Duppa's 'Life of Michael Angelo.'"

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course left me, consistent with the preservation of that character which has hitherto rendered me worthy your confidence. *Nor can I return;* for, if I were undeserving of your esteem yesterday, I shall not be worthy of it tomorrow, unless by the caprice of fortune, which can be as little desirable to your Holiness as myself.' A reconciliation afterwards took place at Bologna, whither Michael Angelo went to meet the Pope after his subjection of that territory to his allegiance."

The translations in this volume seem to be very close and correct.

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8. — *Poems*. By J. N. McJilton. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo. pp. 360.

Mr. McJilton describes his Muse, in the Preface, as an "inoffensive" one. He says truth. Nothing can be more inoffensive than are most of her doings. Writing such poetry is undoubtedly one of the most harmless in-door amusements for a rainy day, that have ever been hit upon. It is peculiarly eligible, from being adapted to the capacities of so many, who might not be able to get on, if any thing more tasking were imposed upon them. In this age of rapid and easy composition, it is the easiest thing in the world to hitch into rhyme a series of common-place truisms, mingled with feeble sentimentality, and to make it pass with good-natured friends for poetry, — in fact, to make it look very much *like* poetry. There is a vast mass of pretty expressions, half lines, epithets of excellent aspect, and comparisons and other figures of speech that have only been used since the days of Homer, and that may be had "as cheap as" — any refuse. Persons of amiable temper and youthful inexperience are very apt, especially young gentlemen with sisters and maiden aunts, to let themselves be cheated into the notion of their being poets, because they can work up these abundant materials into the forms of verse. This sort of poetical genius is a disease incident to early life, like the measles and hooping-cough; but, if the patient survives to years of discretion, it commonly leaves no permanent effects on the constitution. It is desirable that the friends of the young sufferer should watch it with some care, and keep its poetical ailments as much as possible within the family circle. But this is what friends are not sufficiently accustomed to do. The complaint is apt to get out; next-door neighbours are pretty sure to hear of it; then the newspapers take it up;

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and all hope of having the disease go off in the natural way, and with the quiet which is so desirable, is at an end.

Such has been the fate of Mr. McJilton. He says as much in his Preface. His plea is, that, "had it not been for the threat of one, for whom the author entertains a high regard, that he would publish upon his own responsibility such of his pieces as he could collect, it is highly probable that the public would have been spared," &c. It was wrong, very wrong, for that individual to make such a threat, and to compel the coy author to publish under the terrors of a surreptitious edition. To bind him over to keep the peace would have been wiser than to yield to the menace. In that surrender, the "Muse" of Mr. McJilton did not show herself so "independent" as he says in his Preface she is.

The truth is, there is no justifiable cause for printing poems of this quality. Beyond the average of the poetical style, whether of language or of thought, which is at the command of all well-educated young gentlemen, there is nothing in these pieces from beginning to end. They are highly moral, abound in good feeling, and have the usual expressions about the "Tomb of Bozzaris," "Retrospection," "Time," "Love's Appeal," "The Stars," "Childhood's Hopes," "Thou Speakest Still," "Midnight," "Infant Memories," and so on through the chapter. There are the usual set words, affected quaintnesses, pretty turns, and that feebleness of thought and language which is the universal badge of a much too numerous tribe. Then we have such oddities as this;

> "He gazed in fancy from the mount of bliss
> On years of pleasure that invited him
> Their endless ocean of delight to swim."

We submit that a reasonable man, placed on the "mount of bliss," would think twice before jumping into an "ocean of delight," for the purpose of swimming.

Greece is called

> "a burning diadem
> Upon the brow of earth,"

for no other reason than that "burning diadem" is a stereotype expression of the forcible-feeble school.

Mr. McJilton ought not to make his readers mispronounce so well-known names as are hitched into the following lines;

> "The great Archimedes found rest."
>
> "A Miltiades for every age."

Of the pet words, "anear" occurs some dozen times; "Anear a little foot." "Anear the broad Patapsco." Then

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we have "Adown the purple west," "Adown whose side," and many other like childish affectations. The author has a bath for almost every thing. We have "To lave in the light," and again in the same poem "And bathe in the light." Also we have "to gloom" as an active verb.

But the absurdest thing in the book is the ballad of "Guenever," in imitation of the old English writers. The imitation consists entirely in putting together a long series of very silly words, which the author mistook for simple, and spelling them all ways but the right way. The poem has not the slightest touch, therefore, of the genuine old ballad style. What old English poet ever said such a thing as this?

"And on her steed, coal-blacke and sleeke,
She oft through the chase did *whip*."

or,

"They answered one, and answered alle,
'Sir Cradocke, *we'd rather go*,'" &c.

or,

"Nor I'd turn my heel my head to save."

What a taste the good Queen Guenever must have had in the article of riding-dresses;

"All in her *crimson sarke* so gay
She rode with the ladyes bright;"

and afterwards;

"Her crimsone sarke on the closete laye,
Neglectede and coverde with duste;
'T was neither worne by nighte nor daye,
But lefte alone in its ruste."

Quere; What *did* she wear, and what is the ruste of a sarke? But this is not the last of the sarke. The hint of the following elegant proceeding must have been taken from certain notorious incidents connected with the recent elections.

"Midste of their joye, in Carliele parke,
Once they assemblede for glee;
On a pole they hunge a crimsone sarke,
In mockerie sporting free."

There is a beauty in the following lines, which is not often found in English poetry.

"'And now Sir Cradocke, my love,' she cried,
And she cried moste bitterlie;
'If thou and these knightes our steade wont bide,
'T is a terrible thing for we.'"

Flatly a plagiarism from Mrs. Gilpin's arrangement for her

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lord, when, after settling that her own little family and her sister's should occupy the chaise, she says ;

"So you must ride
On horseback after we."

We hope that the author of these poems is by this time convalescent. He has had the disease in a virulent form.

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9. — 1. *The School Library ; published under the Sanction of the Board of Education of the State of Massachusetts.* Volumes XI. — XIX. Boston : Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 12mo.

2. *The School Library ; published under the Sanction of the Board of Education of the State of Massachusetts. Juvenile Series.* Volumes III. — XII. Boston : Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 12mo.

In a former Number* we explained, and in the present have briefly brought again to view, the plan of the Massachusetts Board of Education for supplying the School Districts with a Select Library. We endeavoured to show the advantages that might result from such a work, if well executed ; and, after noticing the first ten volumes, we ventured to predict, "from the further progress of both series of the School Library, a succession of instructive, suggestive, and thought-nourishing works, which will do much to cure both young and old of the habit of reading merely for pastime, or for appearance only, and to excite the desire and lay open the field for serious reflection and diligent study, on many subjects of the highest interest and moment."

Thus far, the result has fully equalled our expectations, and we have before us nine volumes of the second decade, and twelve volumes of the second or Juvenile series, executed in the most substantial manner.

The very appearance of this Library *speaks volumes* in its favor ; and, as in a crowd of individuals, most of whom are dressed gaudily, or primly, or slovenly, we cast the eye with satisfaction upon him, whose rich but plain and well-fitting garments indicate competence and good taste, so from the crowded

* See *North American Review*, Vol. L. pp. 505 *et seq.*

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shelves of the bookseller we take up one of the handsome but plain and strong volumes of this Library, with the assurance that, under such a substantial outside, we shall find valuable matter. Nor are we disappointed; the paper is white and strong; the typography clean and distinct; the engravings are well designed and well executed; the indexes, glossaries, &c., full and perfect.

We have no hesitation in saying, that the work is produced in a style altogether superior to any thing of the kind in any country. Nor does this apply to the mechanical execution only, for there has been a vast amount of labor expended upon the editorship of these volumes, which can be appreciated only by those who sit down to read them; and labor such as, we believe, has never been bestowed upon any books designed for a similar purpose. Indeed, they afford a very striking contrast with the books usually manufactured for our schools, those crude productions of crude authors, hastily printed on dirty paper, glued between two pieces of pasteboard to a yellow leathern back, which stubbornly resist the endeavour to open them, but, when once opened, as stubbornly refuse ever to be shut close, and which must rather create a disgust for literature in the minds of the young, who know nothing of it but through these unsightly and dog-eared appendages of common schools.

We have spoken, in an earlier part of this number, of the good which such books will do. They should also be welcomed to a large circulation, in view of the evil which they will prevent. People have learned to read, and will not rest content with the newspapers and the almanacs; and those, who cannot get access to the "garbage of the circulating library," will buy of the book-pedlers, who often pander to vice by selling books of an immoral tendency. It is in this view of the subject, and with earnest solicitude for the welfare of the young, especially in the less populous neighbourhoods, that we would zealously promote the foundation and increase of District School Libraries. The learned and the professional men in the country can order their own books from abroad; the inhabitants of the cities can select theirs from the tens of thousands which crowd the shelves of libraries and booksellers' shops; but the poor youth in the country, — they to whom a hundred volumes would be a vast library, — they have a strong claim upon their more favored fellows, who, by a little effort, can place fountains of instruction and delight within their reach. Of all the various plans for promoting intelligence and virtue among the people, we know of none more practical in its character, or more certain in its results, than this. It is philanthropic, and it is purely democratic; for it aims at en-

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lightening and elevating a class who have the least opportunity for enlightening themselves.

We have no space left to enlarge upon the merits of the volumes issued since our last notice of this series. But this is hardly to be regretted for any purposes of recommendation, since most of them are the productions of men whose names are almost a guaranty for their excellence.

Volumes XI. and XII. contain Dr. Bigelow's useful and popular "Technology," modified by himself to suit the class of readers for whom the Library is prepared. The work, in this edition, represents the present state of the science, containing a notice of all important mechanical improvements of recent date. There are about a hundred pages of new matter in the Appendix, besides numerous additions in the text, and a Glossary and copious Index to each volume, — the latter very different from the meagre index with which the work had before been furnished. The engravings are nearly all incorporated into the text, instead of being placed at the end; and there are many new ones.

Volume XIII. is "Story on the Constitution," which may be considered a new work. It is much more extensive than the "Constitutional Class-Book," containing new matter to the amount of nearly two hundred pages. It has a valuable additional document on the Federal Constitution, and a very complete Glossary and Index.

Volumes XIV. and XV. contain the well known work called "Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties," published in England by the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." It is edited by President Wayland; and enriched by Notes, an Index, and a Glossary.

Volume XVI. is the "Farmer's Companion," the last work of the late excellent Judge Buel. His "prominent object, in presenting the volume to the public, was to aid in the improvement of American husbandry;" and ably has he accomplished the purpose. This book must be of very great value to the farmer; and it is accompanied by such explanations, and by so full a Glossary, that it is comprehensible by all.

Volume XVII. is entitled "Great Events by great Historians," edited by Dr. Lieber. But, with all its author's eminence, we own we dislike the plan of the work so much, that we have hardly looked at the manner of its execution.

Volume XVIII. is the "Fire-Side Friend," by Mrs. Phelps, much altered and improved. It is based upon her "Lectures to Young Ladies," the success of which in the United States, in England, and in Scotland, seems a warrant of its merit.

Volume XIX., by Edward Everett, is entitled, "Importance

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of Practical Education and Useful Knowledge." It is made up principally from his Orations, Addresses, &c., by selecting all that bears upon education. Some parts of it, however, have never appeared before; and it has been adapted to its present purpose by the author himself, who dedicates it "to the rising generation of the country with ardent wishes for their improvement, virtue, and happiness."

The Juvenile Series is composed of the following works, viz.

Volume I. "Pictures of Early Life," by Mrs. Emma C. Embury.

Volume II. "The Pleasures of Taste"; being selections from the writings of Jane Taylor, by Mrs. S. J. Hale.

Volume III. "Means and Ends," by Miss Sedgwick.

Volume IV. "Juvenile Budget Opened," a selection from the writings of Dr. Aikin.

Volume V. is entitled "Historic Tales for Youth." It was written for the Library by Miss Mary E. Lee.

Volume VI. on "Things by their Right Names," is made up of selections from the writings of Mrs. Barbauld, by Mrs. S. J. Hale.

Volume VII. is a very valuable work, entitled "Scenes in Nature," prepared, we believe, by Dr. Webb, from Mrs. Marcet's excellent and popular work, entitled "Land and Water."

Volume VIII. "The Juvenile Budget Reopened," contains further selections from the works of Dr. Aikin.

Volume IX. is "Country Rambles," prepared for the Library by Mrs. Ellet.

Volume X. we have not seen, and believe it has not issued from the binder's hands.

Volume XI. "Lives of Columbus and Vespucius."

Volume XII. "Lives of Balboa, Cortez, and Pizarro."

The last two volumes were written for the series by a lady (of Boston, we believe,) who has not chosen to place her name upon the title-page, but who is entitled to the assurance, that she has conferred a great benefit upon the young, by the care and skill with which she has prepared these volumes.

The pains and fidelity with which the Glossaries, Notes, and other explanatory apparatus of these works, have been prepared, is worthy of all praise, and constitute a rare merit in their execution.

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10. — *Grandfather's Chair; a History for Youth*. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE, Author of "Twice-told Tales." Boston: E. P. Peabody. 18mo. pp. 140.

THE plan and purpose of this little volume are thus sketched by the author in his Preface.

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"In writing this ponderous tome, the author's desire has been to describe the eminent characters and remarkable events of our early annals, in such a form and style, that the YOUNG might make acquaintance with them, of their own accord. For this purpose, while ostensibly relating the adventures of a chair, he has endeavoured to keep a distinct and unbroken thread of authentic history. The chair is made to pass from one to another of those personages, of whom he thought it most desirable for the young reader to have vivid and familiar ideas, and whose lives and actions would best enable him to give picturesque sketches of the times."

The characters in the book are the grandfather, who occupies the chair, and relates the stories, and four grandchildren, of various ages from five to eleven years, who compose his audience. The subjects of the stories are Lady Arbella Johnson, Endicott's adventure with the Red Cross, Roger Williams, the Pine-tree shillings, the Quaker persecution, the missionary enterprise of Eliot, and his translation of the Bible into Indian, and Phips's romantic adventure in recovering the sunken treasure. The children are drawn with a delicate and discriminating pencil, and their different characters are sustained in a manner which shows a nice observation of childhood, as well as no inconsiderable dramatic power. The stories are beautifully told, in that pure, graceful, translucent English, which has given Mr. Hawthorne, in his other productions, so high a rank among our native writers, and with a vein of sound reflection, elevated moral feeling, and, here and there, a touch of quiet humor, which make it to be every thing which one could wish in a book for children. The subject, at first blush, would not seem a very attractive one; yet, in the hands of genius, it has become as interesting as a fairy tale. We give it our emphatic and unqualified approbation as one of the very best books for children we have ever seen; and, if we may venture to speak from the delight with which we ourselves read it through from beginning to end, we assure those whe are no longer children, that it is well worthy of their notice. We hope Mr. Hawthorne will give us more stories from Grandfather's chair, as he has half promised to do in the concluding chapter. The field is comparatively new, that is, so far as the literature of the nursery is concerned; and, as he has shown himself so well qualified to make a good use of the ample materials which may be found there, we hope he will repeat his visits to the ages that are past, and bring us back more treasures from their dark, sequestered stores of incident and adventure. In the mean time, let every little descendant of the Puritans read this book, and from its true and beautiful sketches learn to reverence the wise and great men who laid the foundation of the happy community in which they dwell.

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11. — *Poem, spoken at Cambridge, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, August 27th*, 1840. By Francis C. Gray. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 36.

We are glad to see this excellent production published in so beautiful a form. It is a poem of a grave and didactic character, carefully written, and polished to a degree quite unusual in these times. The style is nervous and vigorous English, utterly free from the affectation, and intensity, and vagueness of most poetry of the present age. The thought is solid, well-weighed, and important; and the versification, in general, very elegant and harmonious. The good old heroic couplet has been judiciously selected by Mr. Gray, and he has shown himself a master of its beautiful rhythm and cadence. The march of the verse strikes us as resembling that of Cowper in his minor pieces, more than that of any other standard poet. The spirit of the composition is thoroughly patriotic and American; and this we rejoice to see, for Mr. Gray is deeply read in the literature of Europe, and knows, by personal observation, what there is attractive in foreign associations and foreign modes of life. His mind is richly stored with various and accurate knowledge, gathered by study and travel; and he can judge, if any man can, what sources of poetical inspiration are to be found in American history and scenery, as compared with Europe. The glowing strain, that patriotic feeling dictates to so enlightened a mind as Mr. Gray's, cannot fail to make a strong impression.

The following passage will convey an idea of the characteristic vigor and purity of the composition.

> "A trade! — to man new virtues to impart,
> And mould and guide at will the human heart;
> High, like Tyrtæus, on the watchtower stand,
> The patriot spirit rouse, and save the land;
> Or with a wing of fire through nature rove,
> People the air, the ocean, and the grove;
> Make hill and vale with strains of rapture ring,
> Give tongues to trees, and soul to every thing;
> Or, nobler still, truth's vestal torch display,
> Which pours upon the mind its moral ray,
> Gleams on that page, which tells of guilt forgiven,
> Allures the erring pilgrim back to heaven,
> And, to no single soil its beams confined,
> Shines a directing star to all mankind!
> Not all Peru could buy the breath divine,
> Nor India's wealth the power to write a line.

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Fond hope, to mock by glittering gold's display
The kindling radiance of the god of day;
On Memnon's lyre to cast a mimic light,
And bid it sound, when all around is night.
Pensions, bestowed where no Apollo fires,
Are vain, — superfluous if his breath inspires.
Hid in the shade, or basking in the light,
The genuine poet cannot choose but write.
Vain are the Muse's efforts to control
The voice prophetic struggling in her soul;
Through her whole frame its sacred impulse flies,
Full of the god, — she breathes it, though she dies."
— pp. 9, 10.

The poet thus replies to the complaint, that imagination is exhausted, and there can be nothing new.

"All is achieved! — Why thus, ere Milton sung,
From mouth to mouth the withering descant rung.
'We live too late. The ancient poets claim
The highest summits of the hill of fame;
And all, to which the moderns can aspire,
Is not to emulate them, but admire.'
Thus before Virgil wrote, whose lines survive
The world's Imperial Mistress, and shall live
Till time her very ruins shall destroy,
And Rome become as fabulous as Troy,
The critic bade aspiring bards beware,
And Homer view with wonder and despair.
And thus, ere Homer reared that pile sublime,
Whose adamantine fabric laughs at time,
A thousand timid voices joined the cry;
'All monuments of human power must die,
Toil as we will, be prosperous as we can,
All, all must perish, like their maker man.'

"Yet not for this did they relax their force,
Or lag one instant in their generous course;
Nor ever will the genuine son of song,
Who feels the powers, that to his art belong.
Where deep in thought, and shunning vulgar light,
The Muse in secret meditates her flight,
Though Doubt and Fear may whisper at her side,
And Pleasure court, and Ridicule deride,
She heeds them not, but, once the impulse given,
Springs from the dust, and wings her way to heaven;
No lure, no menace can her flight restrain,
And Envy coils around her wings, — in vain." — pp. 17, 18.

We cannot leave this poem without giving the finely-drawn characters of Kirkland and Bowditch.

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"Such she now mourns, and more, since he is gone,
Who o'er yon halls so long illustrious shone,
Kirkland; — in wisdom clad, by genius graced,
And sportive humor, and unerring taste,
With power at once to rule, instruct, and please,
Mild dignity, and unaffected ease.
He stooped to lead the humblest on his way,
His bounteous hand was open as the day,
He roused indifference, recklessness controlled,
And cheered the timid, and o'erawed the bold;
In swift obedience all were proud to move,
The bonds of discipline made light by love.

"And in the sacred desk, how apt to teach!
Clothing in rare felicity of speech
His thoughts, original, acute, profound,
He seemed to scatter truth and wisdom round,
While every ear in rapt attention hung,
To catch the treasures dropping from his tongue.

"In social life not less his worth appeared,
By all, who knew him, honored and revered;
With careless air, yet penetrating ken,
Gifted to look quite through the deeds of men,
Their hidden feelings, motives, thoughts he knew,
Measured their strength, and saw their weakness too;
Yet ne'er, — how few thus gifted to refrain, —
Ne'er did he touch that weakness to give pain,
Nor rend its veil away, — but, all the while,
Saw through its folds with pity or a smile.

"His writings with his character agree,
Stamped with an elegant simplicity.
And though clouds, gathering o'er his closing day,
In darkness hid the intellectual ray,
The brief eclipse is now for ever past,
And his worn spirit finds its home at last.
The record of his mild and brilliant reign
In Harvard's annals will its rank retain,
And, while her walls shall stand or name survive,
So long his memory and his praise shall live.

"Nor less she earlier mourned, when Bowditch gave,
His soul to heaven, his body to the grave.
We wept not then, as when compelled to shed
Untimely tears o'er some Marcellus dead,
Preëminent in talents and in fame,
Only to be an earlier, surer aim
For death, — a greener garland for the tomb; —
Wept not as erst o'er manhood's early doom,
When Buckminster, our ornament and pride,
Ardent McKean, accomplished Thacher died,

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When fate the bright career of Ashmun crossed,
And Frisbie's fervid eloquence was lost.
Then might you weep, beholding beams so bright
Eclipsed at noon, and midday turned to night;
But not for him, who closed with placid ray
The tranquil evening of a well-spent day,
And, all life's honors earned, its duties done,
Sank in full radiance, like a cloudless sun.

"We wept not him, who, even from boyhood's prime,
Felt the inestimable worth of time,
Who threw no opportunity away,
Nor ever once, like Titus, lost a day.
He never failed to find, whate'er befell,
Time to do all things, and to do them well.
Was but a scheme for public good displayed,
His the best counsel, most efficient aid;
And 'mid the busy world's cares, toil, and strife,
His leisure bore the harvest of a life,
A work, that on his name sheds long renown,
And adds a jewel to his country's crown.

"From earliest youth, upon himself alone
Depending, none he feared, he flattered none,
But showed, throughout his life's consistent plan,
The self-reliance, that makes man a man;
Fearlessly followed what he thought was right,
And did whate'er he did — with all his might.

"To latest age, he kept the stainless truth,
The modesty, the playfulness of youth;
With rock-like firmness, joined to liveliest zeal,
Calm to resolve, but oh, how quick to feel,
Too frank to feign, too shrewd to be beguiled,
'In wit a man, simplicity a child,'
Free from suspicion, selfishness, or art,
He spoke and acted only from the heart.

"His was the life, the real sage to bless,
A life of high exertion, and success.
His was the death, the sage's life to crown;
Calm, grateful, full of trust, he laid him down,
'Mid those he best loved, and who loved him best;
And happy in their love he sank to rest,
While even their grief was mixed with joy and pride,
To think he thus had lived, and thus had died."

— pp. 32–35.

The general character of this poem may be fairly judged by the passages we have given. It has a few tame and prosaic lines; but it is, for the most part, strong, picturesque, and brilliant.

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12. — *M. Fabii Quintiliani de Institutione Oratoria e Libris Excerpta, ex Editione Spaldingii. Selegit et accuravit* Josephus Alden, S T. D., &c. Bostoniæ: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, et Webb. 1840. 12mo. pp. 239.

Rollin, in his selections from the writings of Quintilian, constituting an octavo volume, omitted the parts less important in modern education, leaving still an admirable treatise, divided into chapters, over which were placed appropriate titles. Dr. Alden, in his Preface, makes no other allusion to Rollin than to state that he has borrowed his titles. He has of course followed him in taking a part of his selections. His own labor has consisted in printing from Spalding (the latest and best edition) with the exception of a few corrections taken from Zumpt, and adding three pages of Latin notes (all selected, and all relating to the first seventy-three pages of the two hundred and thirty-nine), and some dozen brief English glosses, a part of which are erroneous or inadequate.

The work is well enough printed; but it should have been announced as being a part of Rollin's selections, with his divisions and titles, printed from a later and better text.

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13. — *Physiology for Schools.* By Reynell Coates, M. D., Vice-President of the Philadelphia Medical Society; Corresponding Member of the National Institution, Washington City, and the New York Lyceum of Natural History; Member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, &c. &c. Philadelphia: Marshall, Williams, & Butler. 12mo. pp. 333.

This work is, in the main, exceedingly well adapted to the object in view, that of affording instruction in regard to the functions of living beings, in such a manner as to be interesting and useful, particularly to young persons. The author begins with pointing out the difference between bodies that have, and those that have not, life; that is, between organized and inorganized matter. The comparison is naturally made with the simpler animals, which are described somewhat in detail, and their functions explained with a variety of happy illustrations. From these the transition is easy to those properties of life in the higher orders of animals, that have the closest affinity to those which are the sole properties in the lower orders, beginning with assimilation and locomotion. The prin-

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cipal functions, and the apparatus by which they are carried on, embraced in the complicated structure of man, are described in their order; that is, in the order which seemed to the author most natural; yet, after all, it matters little what method is pursued in the description, provided the mutual dependence and just relations of the several parts are properly exhibited. The anatomy of the different organs is given sufficiently in detail to enable the reader to comprehend the nature of the offices which they are designed to perform, and their manner of performing them. The facts and opinions are in general in accordance with the latest and best established observations. On some points, we should probably differ from the author, but they are not of such importance as to render it necessary for us to assert our views here.

In addition to the physiology of man, there is interspersed a great amount of information in regard to the structure and functions of other animals. This, besides the value of the information itself, although it sometimes bewilders and distracts the attention, oftener affords a clearer illustration of the principal subject, and enlivens it where it might otherwise become dry. The style is in the form of address from the author to the reader in the first and second persons. This, perhaps, adds somewhat to the animation and vivacity of the description, and, if so, doubtless adds also to the distinctness and permanence of the impression on the memory. But we are not sure that these advantages, if such they be, are not more than counterbalanced by the occasional awkwardness of phraseology and appearance of dogmatism, which it occasions. The language is not always elegant, but is in general correct and expressive.

On the whole, although we may not quite come up to the estimate which the author's Preface seems to set upon the value of the book, we do regard it as a work of no ordinary degree of merit, containing a large amount of information, and in a form to engage the attention of that class of readers for which it is designed. Such information is well adapted to be useful, in many ways, besides the benefit of a simple increase of knowledge. The intelligent reader will draw from it many practical inferences, which can hardly fail to exert a favorable influence upon his comfort and health. In some instances, these practical results are left to the judgment of the reader; in other and important examples, they are distinctly and forcibly stated.

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NOTE TO ARTICLE VIII.

Since the above-named article passed through the press, our attention has been called to certain writings, — under the *signature* "*Grattan*," — *of a person*, who, among the intemperate newspaper writers engaged in the late Presidential election struggle, made himself conspicuously obnoxious to censure (besides doing serious mischief to the cause he advocated) by his false accusations against eminent individuals. The allusion in the speech of General Harrison quoted above on p. 220 had reference to a passage in an article in the Washington "Globe," subscribed with the name dearest perhaps of all others to Irishmen, stating that "General Harrison was one of the vilest Orangemen in America," and that he had declared that he "cared nothing for the opinions of those who came three thousand miles across the water."

In another of the *tirades* of this writer, in the same paper, he made the still more monstrous assertion, that "Daniel Webster was reposing on a couch, in *his marble palace* at Boston, and enjoying from his windows the conflagration of the Charlestown convent in 1836, while a word from him might have put a stop to the devastation."

It would be a waste of time to refute this intense absurdity, for those who know the sentiments of Mr. Webster, or the localities of the city of Boston, or who can measure, even in memory, the mass of buildings, for full three miles, between Mr. Webster's brick house in Summer Street, and the ruins of the Mount Benedict convent. But these easily-exposed slanders are even more pardonable than the sin of affixing to them a name memorable from having been borne by one of the greatest orators and most honorable men of any age, and which is moreover possessed by a writer of our own day who has been for some time resident in this country. The living and the dead are thus remorselessly libelled together. A quadruple injustice is at once inflicted; — on one, who cannot from his patriot grave resent the insult; on another, who is forced, from his high station, to refute the calumny; on a third, who most likely holds it in scorn too great for his notice; and on a fourth, who may be saddled with the odium of its authorship. We verily believe the last is the most, — although it be but negatively, — aggrieved. The fame of Henry Grattan is sufficient to repel the wrong done by this usurper of his patronymic. The reputation of Thomas Colley Grattan might suffer seriously under the imputed enormity of his *soi-disant* namesake's *style*, to say nothing (the real value) of his opinions. Such writers of political philippics should, in common honesty, go back for their *noms de guerre* to the dark ages, where names may be found of obscurity congenial to their own.

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QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

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The Youth's Keepsake. A Christmas and New Year's Gift for Young People. For 1841. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 16mo. pp. 192.

The Lady's Annual Register, and Housewife's Almanac, for 1841. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 12mo. pp. 120.

Friendship's Offering. Edited by Miss Catherine H. Waterman. For 1841. Philadelphia: Marshall, Williams, & Butler. 16mo. pp. 320.

The Literary Amaranth; or Prose and Poetry. By Nathan C. Brooks, A. M. Philadelphia: Kay & Brother. Baltimore: Cushing & Butler. 16mo. pp. 264.

The Rose of Sharon; A Religious Souvenir for 1841. Edited by Miss Sarah C. Edgarton. Boston: A. Tompkins. 16mo. pp. 304.

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The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the year 1841. Boston: D. H. Williams. New York; Collins, Keese, & Co. 12mo. pp. 312.

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Memoir of Mrs. E. B. Dwight, including an Account of the Plague of 1837. By Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, Missionary to Constantinople. With a Sketch of the Life of Mrs. Judith S. Grant, Missionary to Persia. New York: M. W. Dodd. 12mo. pp. 323.

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The Young Learner; a Book for Children and Youth. By a Teacher. Andover: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 18mo. pp. 107.

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C. Cornelii Taciti Germania, Agricola, et de Oratoribus Dialogus. Ex Editione Oberlinianâ. Accedunt Notæ Anglicæ. Curâ C. K. Dillaway, A. M. Bostoniæ: Perkins et Marvin. 12mo. pp. 177.

A Greek Reader, for the Use of Schools; containing Selections in Prose and Poetry, with English Notes, and a Lexicon. Adapted particularly to the Greek Grammar of E. A. Sophocles, A. M. By C. C. Felton, A. M., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. Hartford: H. Huntington Jr. Cambridge: John Owen. 12mo. pp. 442.

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